

Friends, Neighbours and Kin

Development of social contacts with  
special reference to stages in the life  
cycle and class factors.

by

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## SUMMARY

This research was undertaken to examine the way that social networks are formed and change and the factors which influence these changes. The conjugal pair was taken as the focus of the network and married couples selected from a district of Edinburgh to form a research set. The project was carried out by means of a series of interviews with the members of the research set and participant observation.

The data suggested the following network characteristics. It was found that the main factor affecting network changes was the stage in the developmental cycle of the family. In the different stages of the developmental cycle, network recruitment was from different sectors. Thus in the first stage of the development cycle most network members were old childhood friends, in the second stage recruitment was mostly from the neighbourhood, in the third stage network members were recruited from voluntary associations and the work situation and in the final stage the network was made up mostly of kin. The results were similar for both the working class and the middle class members of the research set.

Social class was found to influence the way social contacts were made within the sectors, thus the way in which network links were formed differed between the middle class couples and the working



class couples.

Another finding was that the networks of the research set were of low density, but that the density of the individual sectors was high. This suggests that urban married couples have low density social networks but that high density areas may be found in the sectors of the network.

Since the project showed that the stage in the developmental cycle of the family was largely responsible for the sectors from which recruitment to the network took place, it can be suggested that the high density areas of a social network are dependent on the stage in the family cycle of the conjugal pair. High density networks are likely to produce norm enforcing groups and therefore it seems that the stage in the developmental cycle is an important factor in influencing network changes and characteristics and also in determining in which sectors norm enforcing groups will exist.

## Contents

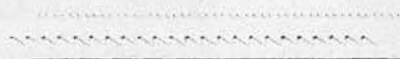
	<u>Page</u>
Chapter 1      Introduction	1
Chapter 2      Research Design and Methods	23
Chapter 3      Social Networks by Stage in the Developmental Cycle	56
Chapter 4      Network Characteristics	116
Chapter 5      Kinship	147
Chapter 6      Neighbourhood	182
Chapter 7      Work	216
Chapter 8      Voluntary Associations	244
Chapter 9      Friendship	265
Chapter 10     Conclusion	291
Appendices	319
Bibliography	340

2. Network Density and the concept of sector.

3. The influence of external factors on social networks.

4. The Problem.

5. Outline of discussion.



## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to find out more about the informal pattern of social relationships of a family. The social network has been used as a tool of analysis since Bott showed that "the external social relationships of all families (in her research project) assumed the form of a network rather than the form of an organized group" (Bott, 1957, p.58). The pattern of a family's external

### CHAPTER 1

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### INTRODUCTION

thesis is an attempt to explore the way social networks develop and change. In the introduction I shall look at the meaning of the term network and show how the present meaning of the concept has developed. I shall then mention some of the factors which have been suggested as influencing social networks and show how, after studying the literature, I came to the conclusion that the two most crucial factors are stages in the developmental cycle of the family and social class. Finally the hypotheses that the project sets out to test will be outlined.

1. The Development of network theory.
2. Network Density and the concept of sector.
3. The influence of external factors on social networks.
4. The Problem.
5. Outline of discussion.

### The Development of Network Theory.

It is eleven years since Bott noted that despite the enormous amount of literature on the family in Western society, there was little information on the relationship between families and society. Yet apart from her own unique contribution, comparatively little research has been carried out in this field. There have been studies

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### The Development of Network Theory.

It is eleven years since Bott noted that despite the enormous amount of literature on the family in Western society, there was little information on the relationship between families and society. Yet apart from her own unique contribution, comparatively little research has been carried out in this field. There have been studies

of kin relationships and neighbourhoods but few which focus on the totality of the relationships of a family with the rest of society.

Bott's study gives us a hypothesis concerning the relationship between families and society and my research project was designed to gain more information about this relationship. Special emphasis is laid on the development of social networks, the way that social networks are built up and the factors influencing these networks, since it is felt that although community studies have provided a good deal of material on social interaction and social relationships, in these studies there has been little emphasis on the dynamic aspect of how the network changes.

In Bott's London study of family and social network, she used the latter term to refer to informal groupings, the members of which may or may not have contacts with each other and which were based on a conjugal pair. She does not however make it very clear whether these networks are ego-centred or not. The centre is of course a couple and it is sometimes difficult to understand whether the network members know the conjugal pair or just one spouse. In the latter case, this is clearly an ego-centred network, while the former is really a pair-centred network. But Bott does not make this distinction and these two types of network are discussed under the one term of social network. The concept is developed from Barnes' (Barnes 1954) formulation, though in fact it differs in some way from this term. In a study of a Norwegian fishing village, he originally called a network a social field where points representing people or sometimes groups of people are joined by lines indicating which people interact with each other. One of the social fields he identified was the

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network of kinship, friendship and neighbourhood. This was unbounded and had no leadership or coordinating organization. He also used the concept of "set" to refer to a category of people identified on the basis of a linkage provided by the network. This set was centred on a single person and consisted of people classified by him according to certain criteria. Bott uses the term fairly widely to cover both these concepts. As Mayer has pointed out with reference to her work, "On the one hand a family maintains relationships of friendship, kinship and neighbourhood with a certain number of other families; these constitute the family's network. On the other hand, each of the other families has its relations with yet other families, many of which are not connected to the initial family at all. Viewed, therefore, from the central family there is a finite number of relations based on its own interaction, beyond which stretch further links (unbounded from this central family's viewpoint) which have nothing to do with it. Both the bounded and the 'unbounded' entities are included under the rubric network by Bott, though it would have been clearer to call the former a set" (Mayer 1966, p.100). The different concepts of network vary since some refer to 'bounded' and some to 'unbounded' entities.

It is clear that Bott's social network refers to relationships of friendship, kinship and neighbourhood like Barnes' network and not to the relationships of a 'set'. It is important for Barnes' definition of a set that the members are classified by ego according to a certain criterion and Bott's network covers too wide a range of contacts to make the use of the term 'set' feasible. On the other hand the networks that Bott discusses in her book are not unbounded in the manner that Mayer suggests. Although she may imply that

the members of ego's network will know other families who will have further contacts, thus establishing an infinite number of linkages with other families, her actual data refers to bounded networks. She discusses the social contacts of twenty London families so that in fact the networks are limited to all those known by ego, but do not include the contacts of ego's contacts whom ego does not know. They have been called "first order zone of the root" (Barnes 1969a p.225) networks which means they include only those contacts which are one step removed from ego. Her network is ego-centred like the "set" and yet it is unbounded like the network in the Norwegian parish.

Nadel (Nadel 1957) again, has a rather different conception, for though he considers the network a structuring abstracted from interactions, its importance for him is its coherence and closure, that is its equivalence with a system. While for Barnes (Barnes 1954) it is open-ended in character, Nadel is more interested in it as a bounded system. For Barnes, the network consists of relations between people while Nadel conceives of it more as interactions of roles. He considers the relationships so interlocked that the interactions implicit in one determine those occurring in the others.

Nadel's concept was derived from the study of a tribal society, Barnes' from a peasant fishing community and Bott's from the relationships of twenty London families. A closed system of relationships can easily be found among Nadel's Nupe though to find such a closed system among the geographically and socially mobile families of Britain would not be very easy. Barnes could see the network of relationships for the whole Norwegian village, even though this

network was unbounded, but in urban Britain it would be much harder to look at the total mesh of the network for a specific area. Thus Bott's concept, though less precisely defined than Barnes' is the most useful and practical for urban Britain.

We may then sum up the concept of network to be used as being the total of ego's interpersonal relations. It is a matrix of social links focussing on ego.

By her use of the concept of network, Bott has given us a method of looking at the clusters of relationships of people. At the time of her research, the network was a new tool for analysing social situations involving non-groups, an aspect of social relationships which had not been previously emphasized.

#### Network Density and the concept of Sector.

One of the difficulties of the concept of the social network is that it is such a wide term covering such a complexity of social relationships. As a result, though characteristics of an individual's network have been assessed, it seems likely that these characteristics, because they cover such a collection of social relationships, will not in fact apply to all parts of the network. It may be possible to generalise about the overall nature of the network, but is this in fact of great use since these general network characteristics may be distorting the picture and covering up significant but rather different characteristics in sections of the network? The nature of the different parts of one network may vary greatly within the network.

If we look at the main feature of Bott's network - the extent of connectedness - we can see how this might be the case. At this

point it is necessary to clarify the terminology used. Bott talks in terms of close and loose-knit networks which she calls connectedness. Barnes, (Barnes, 1969a.) however, has recently distinguished more clearly the terms connectedness, connectivity and density. He points out that confusion has arisen because the term connectedness has been used to cover a variety of meanings, all similar and yet when more closely scrutinised different. The term has been used to refer to groups which are both directed and undirected, where no distinction in the direction of the flow of communication is made. It has been used to describe the number of links in a path of links joining two points and also Bott's networks, which contain no paths. Here the same term refers to two quite different concepts - one being the "reachability" (Mitchell 1969, p.15) of one point from another and thus the number of other points communication must flow through, while the other refers to the number of links between a collection of points all directly linked to ego. Barnes suggests that this latter idea, which Bott calls connectedness should more accurately be called density. "In our terms, Bott means density rather than connectedness and she is referring to the density of the first-order zone of the root constituted by condensing the husband and wife by treating them as a single point in the undirected graph" (Barnes, op. cit. p.225). Since Barnes' terms are more specific and do reflect these finer distinctions, I shall use them in preference to Bott's terminology. Therefore, when referring to the number of links between a set of points each directly in contact with ego, I shall talk of density, i.e. what Bott called connectedness. The close and loose-knit nature of the network will be referred to as high and low density.



"The qualitative contrast she (Bott) makes between 'close-knit' and 'loose-knit' must then be understood as a contrast between high and low density" (Barnes, op.cit. p.225).

The significance of the high/low densities in urban British society may be questioned by pointing out that only one of Bott's families had a really high density network. If researchers are then much more likely to find low density networks, is the term in fact useful? It is true that the polar types in the high/low density continuum are ideal types (Weber 1964) and while theoretically possible need never exist in practice. But in this case, the term network seems more appropriate for the polar type that is very rare than for the one which is generally found. As Lancaster (Lancaster, 1961, p. 326) has pointed out, "a more accurate picture of a loose-knit network might be suggested by a metaphor implying a radical pattern rather than reticulation". This seems pertinent since the main point of using the metaphor of the network is that it implies a mesh of linkages. Where the mesh is dense, the members of a person's network "tend to reach consensus on norms and they exert consistent informal pressure on one another to conform to the norms, to keep in touch with one another, and, if need be, help one another. (Bott, op. cit. p.60). But where the mesh is less dense, "more variation on norms is likely to develop in the network and social control and mutual assistance will be more fragmented and less consistent". (Bott, op. cit. p.60). Thus the low density network has little value, compared to the high density network for norm enforcement, and mutual co-operation. Yet it is the low density



network that is far more frequently to be found. One may question the concept of network density then on two grounds. Firstly that the most frequently found type, low density network barely resembles a network and secondly because the most significant type for norm enforcement is so rarely found.

I think however, that the metaphor can still be of great use if we look more closely at the network rather than trying to see the whole in one shade of density. Epstein (Epstein 1961) was one of the first to point out that a network may not be connected in its totality but highly connected in parts. This suggests that a network may consist of high density "knots" loosely linked or perhaps not linked at all, except through ego, with other high density areas. If this is the case, how are we to characterise this network, is it of high, low or intermediate density? This seems a weak point in the general description of a network and I would suggest that the picture described above is typical of most people's networks. We must therefore take network analysis further and ask why the high density "knots" occur where they do and why some sectors should be of greater density than others.

Boissevain (Boissevain 1968) has partly solved this problem by saying that one of the factors which influences the structural characteristics of the network is the relative importance of certain activity fields, and he says that the degree of connectedness can also vary within different segments of a network. Boissevain goes on to discuss how other network characteristics such as the ratio of ego's intimate to effective links may vary

according to activity fields and segments. It therefore seems that it is these areas which are responsible for high density areas and we must look more closely at the terms. Boissevain does not define them, but in an earlier article Jay described an activity field in the following way - the activity field "of any individual or group consists of all the units with which that individual or group maintains a certain type of relationship. The boundaries of such a field are meaningful only with reference to the individual or group under consideration. The units of a field may be individuals, families, communities or other social aggregates, but the field as such does not 'constitute a group' ". (Jay 1964, p.138).

One of the difficulties of using the term activity field seems to be that the notions of role and field became confused. An activity field is a social field but defined by a particular relationship. Boissevain (Boissevain, op. cit.) gives an example of the way activity fields vary in connectedness by comparing kinship links and economic links. But what exactly are economic links - are they links with work associates or would a loan to a kinsman be an economic link or a kinship link ? It seems that while the work situation and kinship are two fields, an economic link is a relationship and implies a certain role. Also is kinship really an activity field; it is a social field, but does not the notion of activity field rather distort the type of linkage here ?

Boissevain does not define segment and he uses "segment" and "activity field" fairly generally. What seems to be the important point when looking at clusters of contacts within the network is the type of link, seeing this more in the light of field

theory than role relationships. It seems more likely that there will be greater density where the members of the network have the same type of link with ego than a similar role relationship. Thus ego may have the role of confidante with a neighbour and with an old school friend, but the two are not likely to know each other through sharing this role. In the same way ego has an economic relationship with his butcher and his bank manager, but the two are not likely to be connected through this. On the other hand two neighbours, two old schoolfriends, two members of the same golf club are more likely to know each other through sharing this similar 'field' type link.

I would therefore suggest that we look at different sectors of the network to find out where the high density areas occur. By sector here I mean part of the network in which ego has the same type of "field" link with all members. It may be that by talking about sectors instead of segments here I am being pedantic. The only reason for the use of the term sector instead of segment is that geometrically the segment is a section of the outer part of a circle and not related to the central point, whereas a sector is, and as we are discussing ego-centred networks the latter seems more relevant.

For this reason, my data on the social networks of couples will be looked at in terms of sectors. This refinement of the use of network should give a fuller picture of the network and make comparison easier since, instead of a comparison of total general networks which may be unwieldy and ambiguous units, we can compare sectors of networks in terms of which sectors are important and why.

By important here I mean in terms of providing members for ego's network. Thus, when a sector is being referred to as important it means that it is with members from this part of the network that ego interacts most. The two criteria for judging importance then are:

1. The proportion of the total network supplied by a particular sector.
2. The proportion of total interaction with these members of the network.

For example it will later be shown that housewives with young children tend to see more of neighbours than network members from other sectors and that neighbours tend to be the people seen most frequently.

Therefore, the neighbourhood is considered an important sector for housewives in this stage of the developmental cycle of the family.

#### The influence of external factors on social networks.

If it is accepted that there are important variations in the emphasis on certain sectors do these variations relate to differences in other network characteristics? To investigate this we must look at the various factors which have appeared to influence networks, to see why certain sectors are important. The class factor seems to have been rather overstressed and recent studies have by no means illustrated the tendency to associate high density networks with the working class and low density with the middle class.

Although the working class areas of Bethnal Green (Young & Willmott 1957) and Ashton (Dennis, Henriques & Slaughter, 1957) did have high density networks, this was mainly due to the proximity of kin, and we shall see that this relates to certain external factors. Later studies have shown that where kin do not live in the same neighbourhood, for example where a couple have moved to a housing estate leaving their kin behind in another neighbourhood, working-



class networks are often less dense. (Frankenberg 1966). The inhabitants of Greenleigh (Young & Willmott op. cit.), and Barton (Mogey 1956) saw less of relatives than before they moved and did not find such extensive neighbourliness in their local area. Klein (Klein 1965) has pointed out that Young & Willmott's Woodford working class sample was more "middle class" in attitude than the Bethnal Green counterpart. This she attributed to the fact that they had experienced more moves and so were more geographically and probably socially mobile.

A more subtle distinction than the middle class/working class division was found by Kuper (Kuper 1953) to be the most significant factor in network density in Coventry. He found that a status distinction dividing the area of research into "roughs" and "respectables" was the most useful criterion of friendship and acquaintance. These status groups were classified according to life styles, house-type and material possessions. The "respectables" thought privacy more important and tended to keep themselves to themselves while the "roughs" preferred a more neighbourly community. Since they cut across occupational distinctions, Kuper considered that middle class and working class were not relevant terms here. The distinction between "roughs" and "respectables" in working class life has been noted before. Frankenberg has discussed the "roughs" and "respectables" in Gosforth, Banbury, Liverpool and Watling (Frankenberg op.cit). Thus variations occur in the style of life and social networks of the working class and indeed "roughs" in one area do not necessarily have the same style of life as those in another. In fact in Watling, the "respectables" were responsible



for continuing the public social life of the community centre, while in Liverpool it was the "rough" status group that carried on with public social life. In her discussion of traditional working class life Klein (Klein 1965) has pointed out that in Radley the household's respectability-rating was neatly correlated with its network connectedness - the lower down the scale, the higher the network density. She says with reference to studies of working class areas in general, "From the descriptions of the interaction patterns of roughs and respectables, it appears at first sight that the roughs interact more with their rough neighbours than respectables do with their like". (Klein, op.cit. p.263). She quotes Zweig as saying "the higher the level of prosperity, the higher the fences". (Klein, op.cit. p.263). Later she points out that it is not that the "respectables" do not have friends, but that they are often more selective than the "roughs" and choose them from other neighbourhoods. It seems then that dense networks are usually to be found among the "roughs".

Bott found that social class in itself was not a decisive influence on network density. Though most networks of high density belonged to members of the working class, not all the working class necessarily had high density networks. It seems more likely that mobility is the important factor, physical and social mobility making the network less dense. This mobility has often been the key factor when class has been attributed with producing a low density network. For the mobile members of the working class in Woodford (Young & Willmott 1960) had a network of low density and those who had lived in Bethnal Green (Young & Willmott, 1957) all their lives, a high density one. Class was considered the important factor because the middle class was

more mobile in the past and the high density of working class communities was considered a characteristic of class rather than the static nature of the community. As mobility ceases to be the prerogative of the middle class, the apparent relationship between social class and social network disappears and mobility can more easily be seen to be the significant factor.

Mobility, both physical and social, must be a prime consideration. Where a family is geographically mobile, it would seem almost impossible for them to have a high density network, since as soon as ties in a locality have been built up they will be moving elsewhere. A high density network is associated with a certain area since, for everyone to know everyone-else in the network, they must have a common point of reference. It might be supposed that mobile families would keep kin ties and thus maintain a high density network through them. Jane Hubert's study (Hubert 1965) in London, shows that when a family moves around a certain amount, kin ties are dropped and contact is maintained only with the very closest.

Social mobility may involve physical mobility as in the case of Watson's (Watson 1960) spiralists or it may not. When spiralism takes place, the individual improves his job by moving to a higher position in another part of the country, while at the same time he feels himself to be climbing the social ladder and associating with higher status groups.

A low density network is likely to emerge for two reasons. Firstly, since the spiralist is geographically mobile, he moves to different parts of the country and meets different people in these kin ties that were the backbone of the community. (Young & Willmott, op.cit.).

areas. The people met in a new area are unlikely to know those from the previous area and the more the spiralist moves around, the more likely he is to know people in different areas who do not know each other.

Secondly, as the spiralist moves into higher status groups, it is likely that social contact with those of lower status will decline. If he is moving up the social ladder, he will wish to acquire the prestige associated with his new status. To do this it will be necessary to mix with those of higher status and not his old lower status associates. He is very unlikely to introduce the latter to the former for fear of losing prestige. Thus his old acquaintances will not know his new ones and if he continues to rise in status he will be acquiring new contacts; either dropping past ones or not mixing old and new; and a low density network will emerge.

A closer look at many of the studies of high density networks reveals that most contacts are with kin. Bott's study reflects this. Most of the contacts of the Newbolts, the one family with a close-knit network, were with kin and Mrs. Newbolt especially spent her time with relatives. Townsend's (Townsend, 1963) study of old people also showed the importance of contacts with kin and he concluded that isolation of the old depended on the extent to which they were not integrated members of extended families. Friendship with unrelated neighbours seemed of little importance. Leisure time in the Black country both in the home and outside it was predominantly spent with members of the family. (Rich 1953). In Bethnal Green kinship was the doorway to community and it was the kin ties that were the mainstay of the community. (Young & Willmott, op.cit).

Ship streeters' interest too was centred on the family and family relations were very close. (Klein, op.cit.). Visits between kin formed the main out-of-house leisure activities for all ages, except adolescents. It was not common for an individual to have a friendship with someone who was not a relative and unrelated neighbours did not visit each other.

The extended kin grouping is not however the only extra familial source of contacts. Individual studies have shown the part children play in instigating and cementing relationships and the different types of networks that exist at different stages of family development. But these studies have focussed on a particular stage, rather than looking at the whole cycle as an independent variable. Looking at the different studies, the researcher can piece together various characteristics which seem to be associated with one stage and other characteristics associated with another. Willmott (Willmott 1963) has shown that in Dagenham children provided one of the important influences on friendship. Children have been associated especially with neighbourhood interaction. In Brayden Road there was more interaction between neighbours with children than those without. (Kuper, op.cit). Morris and Moge (Morris and Moge 1965) felt that the age of the children was important in determining the radius of the family's contacts. When they were young, activity was centred on the neighbourhood; as they grew older it tended to move to the residential community and then further afield. Thus, as they grew up the network expanded.

Bernard (Bernard 1939) considered that it was the age of the couple that was important in influencing neighbourhood activity, and



Komarovsky (Komarovsky 1967) has associated the age of the couple with their social activities. Age and stage in developmental cycle are obviously very closely linked and though results associated with one of these variables may also be related to the other, due to the evidence cited, I would suggest that the stage in the cycle is a more crucial factor than just the age of those concerned.

It is not only the presence of a young family which influences a couple's social network. American research (Waller, 1951) has shown the significance of the "launching" years. The time when the children are leaving home is often a time of peak activity for the parents, a time when their interaction stretches beyond the neighbourhood to voluntary organizations and other interest groups and the area of social contacts becomes wider. Studies of older groups reflect the disengagement from general social activity, and the relatively more isolated position of the elderly (Cumming, Dean, Newell & McCaffrey, 1960). It is important to note that this is relative to earlier years and does not mean complete isolation. Sussman (Sussman, 1953) and Streib (Streib, 1958) and Bell (Bell, 1968) in Britain, have all argued that the family is not a declining functional unit by demonstrating the help patterns that exist between parents and their married children. The grandparent generation appears to be the most important of the three in this system of reciprocity (Hill, 1965). Thus we might expect the later stages of the developmental cycle to be characterised by strong kinship links.

These studies then have each given us a picture of the network in the different stages, but none has shown how the cycle as



a whole influences the network.

The developmental cycle has been treated as an independent variable in sociological research, but in most cases it has been viewed as an internal system regulating the behaviour of its members. It is usually linked to the roles of the parents or the behaviour of the elementary family as a unit, rather than seeing it as an open system sensitive to or influencing external factors (Nye and Berardo, 1967). Blood and Wolfe (Blood and Wolfe, 1965), have looked at the roles of husband and wife and the internal family organization in terms of the developmental cycle. Although based on the internal relationships of the family, the study did reveal that when wives are occupied with young children, their activities outside the home decrease and that the stage in the developmental cycle influences the extent of "organizational companionship" of the wife. Organizational companionship here refers to the joint participation of husbands and wives in clubs and organizations.

#### The Problem.

Rosser and Harris (Rosser and Harris, 1965) did use stages in the developmental cycle to look at the amount of interaction between members of the extended family. They therefore gained information in terms of family stage about one specific sector, rather than the total network. My research project was set up to investigate the relationship between the stage in the developmental cycle of the domestic group and the family's whole social network. This meant looking at the external relationships of the family, rather than its internal organization and investigating possibilities suggested by previous studies of families in each of the stages.

The theoretical framework used was the developmental cycle as postulated in Goody's (Goody, 1958) book "The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups". The three phases Fortes (Fortes, 1958) distinguishes are:-

1. Expansion - this is the stage from marriage to the completion of the family of procreation, the period when the offspring are economically dependent.
2. Dispersion or fission - the phase from the marriage of the eldest child to the marriage of the youngest. During this time the family unit is breaking up.
3. Replacement - the period from when the youngest child marries to the death of the parents.

The notion of this cycle was developed with special reference to nonliterate societies but its principles can be applied to the European family. Here too the family expands with the birth of children and gradually breaks up as they marry and leave the family home. In the cycle, the third phase is often characterised by the youngest child replacing the parents by taking over the family homestead. This may not be the case in British society, but here too the phase is characterised by the retirement of the parents and their separation in terms of the household unit, from the children. Anthropology does aim at uniting nonliterate and modern societies in its theoretical approach and as it seemed likely that this concept would be as valid in Britain as in African societies it was used. The concept was adapted slightly for use in urban Britain by subdividing the stage of expansion, as sociological research has pointed out crucial differences in this stage and more variations within this

stage than the others. The first stage was therefore divided into:-

- a. From marriage to the birth of the first child.
- b. From the birth of the first child till the eldest becomes of marriageable age - sixteen.
- c. The period from when the eldest child becomes sixteen till the first child marries. At this time, it is possible for the family unit to start breaking up since the eldest child is old enough to marry, but fission has not actually started.

During the research it was found that there is a very crucial division between a. and b. in this stage and this is in fact a very significant point of variation. Thus, the results will be discussed in terms of a four-stage model, the stages being:-

1. Marriage - birth of first child.
2. Birth of first child - first child leaving home.
3. First child leaving home - last child leaving home.
4. Last child leaving home - death of parents.

Rosser and Harris (Rosser and Harris, op.cit.) distinguish the same four phases in their research. These are defined in exactly the same way and have been called: 1. Home-making, 2. Procreation, 3. Dispersion, 4. Final.

This four-stage model of the developmental cycle is then a combination of anthropological and sociological theory since it is an adaptation of an anthropological concept which corresponds almost exactly to a sociological one used for research in Wales.

The social networks of couples were then looked at in terms of this outline of the developmental cycle. At the beginning of this chapter the question was posed as to how social networks were

formed and how they developed and changed. It is now suggested that the developmental cycle is a fundamental factor in shaping social networks. Before I pointed out the importance of sectors and the fact that it is the emphasis on these that gives the network its characteristics. If the developmental cycle is a determinant of network type, it must help explain the importance of different sectors, and it is the emphasis placed on these sectors as a family moves through time that shapes the way networks are built up and change.

The neighbourhood studies revealed limited contacts while the children were young while peak activity was reached when sons and daughters were leaving home. However, the grandparent generation tended to withdraw from social activity, thus reducing their network.

From the data on networks and the developmental cycle, three hypotheses arose to be tested:-

1. Social class is not the main determinant of the character of a social network.
2. There is a relationship between the stage in the developmental cycle of the domestic group and its social network.
3. With the expansion of the domestic group the social network of the family expands and with the dispersion of the family, the network contracts.

#### Outline of discussion.

The three variables in the project then are social class, the stage in the developmental cycle and the type of network. To test the hypotheses a fairly intricate research design was needed. This and the fieldwork techniques used are described in the next chapter, and the various practical difficulties of using networks in the field discussed. Chapter three contains the data collected in terms of



the stages in the developmental cycle of the family. Here there is an account of the types of social contacts and interaction patterns of the couples in the different stages. The main aim of this chapter is to show how the sectors from which members of the network are drawn vary between the stages. Chapter four looks at the data in terms of joint and segregated network interaction and shows how joint network interaction occurs in the first stage of the developmental cycle and after the birth of the first child, segregated network interaction develops. Chapters three and four are therefore concerned with the differences in the social network that occur with the varying stages in the developmental cycle. Chapters 5-9 deal with the different sectors. It has been pointed out that characteristics such as density vary between sectors and that while in some cases the neighbourhood may be highly connected, in others it is not. The chapters on kinship, neighbourhood, work, associations and friendship discuss the various factors that influence the characteristics of a sector. Finally, in chapter ten, some theoretical points will be made regarding the use of networks and the data of previous chapters drawn together to provide a model for the development of the social network of the domestic group in relation to the developmental cycle of the group.

## Research Design and Methods

...the theoretical orientation  
...I also mentioned some of  
...the hypotheses to be tested  
...the theoretical approach and the way the  
...worked out, I shall now discuss  
...the investigation.

## CHAPTER 2

1. The importance of a depth study.
2. The Research Set.
3. Finding Families.
4. Research Techniques.
5. The Interview.
6. Participant Observation.
7. Summary.

## CHAPTER 2

### Research Design and Methods

In the first chapter I discussed the theoretical orientation of this thesis and the concepts used. I also mentioned some of the background literature and showed how the hypotheses to be tested arose. Having outlined the theoretical approach and the way the theoretical part of the project was worked out, I shall now discuss the fieldwork methods used in the investigation.

#### The Importance of a depth study.

To investigate the whole of a social network and to get reliable information about sectors, it is necessary to undertake a study in depth. The disadvantage of this is that it takes time and the researcher, who is limited to a certain number of years on the research, must therefore spend more of his time on each family rather than getting information from a large cross-section of the population. This means that it is impossible to get decisive statistics, carry out significance tests and thus prove correlations. The research cannot produce a 'statistically verifiable result' and this, therefore, places limitations on the conclusions. The results can show a typology, one that is based on a depth study of a few families and one that is true for a small group. I believe, however, that more realistic results may be gained in this way and that reliable information gained from a few may always be substantiated by other similar studies, while wide statistical studies may, in the case of social networks, be distorting the material.

There are numerous reasons why this sort of study lends itself

more to depth interview analysis rather than postal questionnaire answers. The social network may cover a large number of people and a complexity of different types of relationships. Just collecting information about all the members of a network and the sort of relationship they have with ego is a task that needs time and the adapting of questions to an individual's personal situation. If questions on a network were to be standardized in a questionnaire form to be filled in by a large section of the population to gain statistical results there would be a difficulty in setting a boundary to the network. For instance, the researcher could either limit the network in his own terms or ask the informants who are his friends, neighbours etc. If he takes the first path he will find it difficult to find suitable criteria for denoting a friend or neighbour. Some have included all those who enter ego's home as being members of his network. This however, reveals the middle-class bias of the interviewer for while it may be a good indicator of a relationship in middle-class circles, it is not necessarily so in working-class areas. The terms middle and working-class will be defined later in the discussion of social class. Several of the working class informants in my research group had companions whom they saw frequently and who constituted an important part of their network and yet these contacts never entered their houses. This sort of arbitrary limitation of the network can lead to superficial results. The alternative is to ask people about categories of relationships - friends, neighbours, etc. The difficulty here is that people's conceptions of these terms vary so much. While one or two of the older men in my research set insisted that they had no friends at all. One, Mr. Wood (i)

(i) For obvious reasons of confidentiality, the names of informants have been changed and all that appear in this work are fictitious.



considered all the members of his trade union friends. A deeper analysis showed that some of those who said they had no 'friends' had a more intimate relationship with some members of their network than Mr. Wood did with the other members of his union. Similarly some informants considered as neighbours only their two immediate neighbours while others referred to those living in a whole district of Edinburgh as neighbours. This suggests that questions on friends, neighbours etc. in a questionnaire would have produced data which were hardly comparable since the individual definitions of 'friend', 'neighbour', etc. would have varied too much. In a depth interview, however, the researcher can find out what the informant means by the terms and therefore evaluate the information better.

Another failing of quantity studies is their tendency to take frequency of interaction as a measure of the affectivity of the relationship. This may be the only way in a questionnaire approach, but it is undoubtedly a weak indicator. Frequency of contact and questions about when relatives were last seen were used in Bethnal Green (Young and Willmott, 1960) and Swansea (Rosser and Harris, 1965). These may have been useful in working class areas, but Colin Bell's (Bell, 1968a) study of middle-class families in Swansea, shows how useless they would be for middle-class areas. He points out that among the middle-class the extended family is an important functional unit, but this need not depend on frequent interaction. In fact the basis of this is mutual aid in the form of help in finding jobs and business and economic aid disguised as gift giving. Therefore in any attempt to assess affectivity levels of a network, it would be

futile to take frequency of contact as a measure.

An obvious advantage of depth studies is that they provide means of checking up on an informant's statements. There is a tendency among some families in the suburb where I carried out my research, to give the impression of being very sociable and active and having a lot of friends. This may be the case, but often later questions revealed that the amount of social activity the informant indulged in was not as extensive as he or she made out. As one woman said to me at the end of the interviews, "I never realised so much of my time was spent with such a small number of friends"

A series of interviews then can check up on original statements and provide the opportunity to look for reasons for those statements or early findings. Statistical correlations can never in fact show causal relationships, only the continual association of two factors. The investigator can then deduce that one may be causing the other, though this is often a matter of personal judgement. What is often overlooked here is the possibility of an intervening variable. To use an example I mentioned earlier, high density networks have been associated with working class areas. But it seems likely that it is because these members of the working class were not mobile, that they had high density networks, once they became mobile they developed low density networks. The association of class with network connectedness obscures the important link - mobility. Gavron (Gavron 1968) found that middle class wives had more contact with neighbours than working class; sixty-nine per cent of the middle-class had some kind of contact with neighbours,

while only twenty-nine per cent of the working class did. From this, she deduced that the reason was the greater sociability of middle-class wives. I was rather surprised to get a similar result but in looking at this factor more closely I found that there was an even greater tendency for non-working wives to have more contact with neighbours. These non-working wives were drawn much more from the ranks of the middle-class than the working-class. Thus, while class of wife and neighbourliness may be associated, it seems that in Oxington anyway there was the intervening variable of the fact of being a working wife.

For these reasons, it is essential to do a depth study when doing research on social networks. The term 'social network' is wide and it is necessary to define its particular features, before describing the way it was investigated. To look at the characteristics of the network, I intend to use Mitchell's (Mitchell, 1969) classification, with special reference to certain features. He divides network characteristics into two main categories - morphological and interactional. These are further subdivided. Morphological covers anchorage, density, reachability and range. The point of anchorage of a network refers to a central point, usually an individual, though in Bott's (Bott, op.cit.) case, the point of anchorage was the conjugal pair. The concept of density has been discussed in the previous chapter. The idea of reachability implies that the degree to which a person's behaviour is influenced by his relationship with others often rests on the extent to which he can use these relationships to contact others. Reachability therefore refers to the number of steps between ego and another member of his

total network. The range implies the social heterogeneity of the members of ego's network. Thus "a person in contact with thirty others of widely differing social backgrounds would have a wider range of network than a person in contact with thirty people of the same general background" (Mitchell, op.cit. p.19). Interactional includes content, directedness, durability, intensity and frequency. Content here is the meaning which the persons in the network attribute to their relationships. Directedness shows whether the relationship between two network members is oriented from one to the other or reciprocal. Durability refers to the extent to which the rights and obligations in a relationship are considered temporary or permanent. The degree to which persons are prepared to honour the obligations in a relationship is called intensity. Finally, frequency obviously means the frequency of contact between network members. The main emphasis in my study is on density, range, content, durability and frequency. The reason I mention this scheme so briefly is that its main relevance in this chapter is in the way it directed my research techniques. I used these categories as a guide for collecting data on networks.

It is necessary to note here some of the difficulties involved in collecting data on the interactional features, especially content.

Attempts have been made to classify different levels of affectivity of content in the network. Epstein (Epstein, op.cit.) distinguishes between the effective and the extended networks. The effective network has the more intense and more regular contacts and there is little status-differentiation between its members. The



extended network is recruited from different social categories and therefore the likelihood of status differentiation occurring is greater.

Boissevain (Boissevain, op.cit.) suggests three levels of emotional involvement. These are the "intimate network", which refers to relatives or friends with whom ego is on the closest terms; the "effective network" which consists of members he knows less well and can expect less from whether they be relatives, friends or acquaintances; and finally those ego does not know personally, but of whom he knows and whom he can easily get to know. These are usually members of the intimate network of members of ego's intimate network. These are qualitative zones which form concentric circles round ego. Boissevain suggests that not only may the relative importance of certain activity fields be responsible for connectedness, but also for the ratio of ego's intimate to effective links. If activity fields then are significant in determining qualitative as well as structural aspects of a network, data on this must also be collected. Actual delineation of the intimate and effective networks is difficult. In my study, couples were asked about the content of relationships with reference to friendship, close friends, gift exchanges, mutual obligations, those they would turn to in times of difficulty etc. Information on this subject was also gained from informal conversations, mention of those whose opinion ego valued, frequent references or references in terms of affection and photographs and accounts of those who attended various rites de passage.

Now there are two possible approaches for looking at the developmental cycle. A longitudinal study may be carried out which

follows one family or several families through a large part of their lives. This has the advantage that no network differences can be attributed to different characteristics of the subject, since it is the same family in the different stages. It is however impossible to do a study likely to last the best part of a life-time. The researcher could interview numerous elderly couples and collect life histories. The reliability of this method would depend on their ability to recall. Since they would be required to remember back as far as possibly fifty years and since their memories might be impaired by age, the likelihood of getting sound data would be very slim.

The other approach is a cross sectional study. By this selection of families from different stages in the development cycle one can include the different stages. One of the difficulties here is that the information, instead of reflecting changes which are constant to the stages at any point in time, might merely reveal changes in fashions and generational attitudes. Thus those in stage three might have had very different social networks when they were young marrieds from those in stage one today. As a result, though a cross-sectional approach was used for this study, a technique was borrowed from the longitudinal method. The older generation were asked for brief life-histories and for general impressions of network changes. Selection of couples from different generations is a much more feasible method of collecting information and with the support of the life-histories of the older generation, makes a useful basis for an experiment.

Since the material was to be collected in a form that could not

be easily subjected to a statistical analysis, a note of rigour was introduced at the level of selection of subjects. They were selected to form an experimental research set. The unit of study is the married couple. Both Goody's (Goody, op.cit.) and Rosser's and Harris' (Rosser and Harris, op.cit.) developmental cycles start off with marriage and focus on the conjugal pair. The domestic group is taken to be the elementary family, as this is the most common form of domestic group in our society.

#### The Research Set.

A systematic study was carried out by using an experimental design so that observations were made under conditions of control. This control was obtained, not by precise questioning, but by selecting for observation matching pairs. They formed a set rather than a sample because if pairs matched according to family composition are to be selected, a random sample is obviously impossible.

Restrictions were applied to the type of family as follows:

1. 'Ordinary' couples were chosen. None of the couples were obtained through agencies which help those in distress and none had 'problem' families. This excluded families with delinquent children or criminals in the domestic group. Also excluded were couples, one or both of whom had been married before and therefore had another spouse or children by a previous marriage.
2. Families where one of the partners or one of the children were crippled or disabled to such an extent that normal activities were impaired were excluded. Since this is a study of Social Networks, it was felt necessary to exclude people whose ability to make social contacts and interact with members of their network was

physically impaired. even representation of all stages is essential.

3. Couples in which one partner had spent lengthy periods away from home in the past two or three years, either in hospital, in prison, or abroad on business were excluded. It was felt that such a recent lengthy period away would have prevented the couple building up a 'normal' pattern of social activity. This only applies to recent periods of absence. Informants were chosen in

4. No widows or widowers were included since the point of study is the conjugal pair. class and the other working class.

5. All the couples were chosen from one political ward in Edinburgh. It was felt necessary to limit the area of study to prevent regional differences occurring. Areas are often reputed to be more or less sociable or friendly than others and so to prevent differences in network formation merely reflecting differences in local patterns of sociability, it was considered necessary to limit the area. Oxington ward was selected for two reasons -

(a) The ward contains a mixture of working class and middle-class people. This is reflected in the fact that the housing ranges from private houses to corporation housing estates. There is, therefore, a good proportion of each class from which to select couples. and who were quite likely not to have children.

(b) The age range of those living there is wide and each stage in family development well represented. This is not the case in all wards, where there may be a predominance of young families, for example - where a housing estate has recently been built, or a predominance of older retired people in an older part. Where couples are to be chosen according to different stages in the



developmental cycle, even representation of all stages is essential.

6. Finally couples were selected according to the following specific criteria regarding family stage and composition.

The hypothesis to be tested concerned the extent of the influence of social class and the stage in the developmental cycle on social networks. These two factors therefore had to be taken into account when selecting couples. Informants were chosen in matching pairs - each pair being in the same stage of family development, one being middle class and the other working class. A number of pairs were selected from each of the stages thus forming an experimental set. Comparisons could thus be made between those in different stages or between the social classes.

The experiment was originally to consist of thirty-six couples. A third, i.e. twelve, of these would be in each of the three stages of the cycle. Couples were chosen according to the following criteria:-

In the first stage:

(a) Young married couples with no children who had not been married more than three years. This limitation was introduced to exclude couples who had been married several years, with no children and who were quite likely not to have children.

(b) Couples with children all under sixteen.

(c) Couples with at least one child over sixteen, but with all the children still at home.

The second stage of the developmental cycle represents the period between the first child leaving home and the last child leaving home.

In Fortes' study, the individual left his family of procreation on marriage and it was therefore the marriage of the eldest child and the marriage of the youngest which marked the beginning and end of the stage of dispersion.

In Western European Society, however, marriage is not the only means by which a person leaves his parental home. A young man or woman may take a job, leave home, become economically independent, and set up their own household, without marrying. A man earning his living and living apart from his parents cannot be said to be a part of his parents' domestic group.

Thus, the criteria for departure from the domestic group were taken to be either (1) Marriage or (2) Economic independence and living away from home.

An adolescent who has a job but is still living at home is considered part of the parents' domestic group. This is because though he is earning, his expenses are subsidised by living at home and he is not completely economically independent. Also, he is still part of the household of the parents. He is included in the domestic group.

On the other hand, an unmarried son or daughter, who is economically independent and living away from the parental home is taken to have left the domestic group.

The third stage of replacement takes place after the last child has left the domestic group and continues till the death of the parents. "Where the custom by which the youngest child remains to take over the family estate is found, this commonly marks the beginning of the final phase" (Fortes, 1958, p.5).

In Western European Society, it very rarely happens that the youngest child takes over management of the house, land or any other property of the parents, before the death of the parents. As a result, it is not very feasible to describe this stage as replacement. We may call this stage, separation, where separation is used to mean merely that the original couple are separated from the other members of the domestic group. In terms of household units, they are isolated from them. This in no way implies that the couple feel isolated or are isolated from the community at large.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the couples were selected according to the three stage model outlined by Fortes (Fortes, op.cit.). The research will, however, later be discussed in terms of the four stage model, the four stages being - 1(a), 1(b), and 1(c), 2 and 3.

The second main factor in the experiment is social class. Since an indicator of a social class position was needed to give a rough division into an upper and lower socio-economic group, the Registrar General classifications were used.

As the study was not intended to analyse precise social class subtleties, it was considered sufficient for the purpose to divide the population into two general groups:-

- (a) The managerial and professional group as designated by the Registrar General's groups I and II and
- (b) The artisan and labouring group as designated by Registrar General Classifications III, IV, and V.

The definition is principally defined by occupation, the line between II and III dividing the population into two broad social groupings.

It was necessary to have a criterion that was objective and easily controllable. Occupation is one of the most important criteria used for social class. It affects income, which is another important criterion. It may also be assumed that there is some correlation between occupation and style of life. Chapman's study (Chapman, 1955) of "The Home and Social Status" reflects some aspects of life style which may be associated with occupation. "In general the better types of houses tend to be occupied by the higher-occupational groups.... These groups have often higher education, wider culture and greater skills than the lowest occupational groups. The professional groups, who live in the semi-detached and detached houses, may entertain business friends at home.... In these cases the husband may take an interest in furnishing because he wishes to impress business acquaintances (conspicuous consumption). This will not apply to the same extent in the council houses and by-law houses". (Chapman, op.cit. p.51) Chapman then goes on to show how entertaining tends to be more formal and lavish in the larger houses. Here we find a connection between occupation and type of dwelling, amount of education, interest in culture and extent and formality of entertaining. Lipset and Bendix (Lipset and Bendix, 1959), in discussing social mobility, show that one of the consequences of social mobility is the difficulty of adjusting to new living styles. Their data show that mobility patterns in Western industrialized societies are determined by the



occupational structure. According to them, individuals moving up occupationally in Northern Europe have to make greater adjustments in living style, since the difference between the social classes is greater than in North America.

By taking occupation as a criterion one can also assume some correlation with level of income and style of life and though only one criterion, it is an important one which does have wider implications.

Group (a) will be referred to as middle-class and group (b) as working-class. Objections may be raised to the inclusion of classification III in the working-class, for the social position of clerical workers classed in III is a debatable point amongst stratification experts. These were therefore excluded from the set, the bulk of group (b) being skilled and semi-skilled manual workers.

In each stage in family development then, matching pairs of couples were selected, so that one couple belonged to the Registrar General's Category I or II and the other belonged to the groups III, IV or V.

In this way the effects of both factors could be measured. Social networks of those in different stages of family development could be compared, and a comparison could also be made of the middle and working-class couples.

The way these factors could be measured in the experiment can be seen in a chart.

# Chart I

Stage in developmental cycle	Reg.Gen. I and II	Reg.Gen. III, IV, & V
1. (a) (b) (c)	2 couples 3 couples 2 couples	2 couples 3 couples 2 couples
2.	6 couples	6 couples
3.	6 couples	6 couples

It can be seen here that the two couples in Stage (1) (a) Registrar General I and II are matched with two couples in Stage (1) (a) Registrar General III, IV and V and so on, for the other stages.

The couples were matched according to the number of children they had and other factors relevant to their stage in development.

In Stage (1) (a) couples were paired, who had no children and had been married less than three years.

In Stage (1) (b) the first pair were selected, so that each couple had two children, one of which was pre-school and the other at primary school. The second pair of couples each had two children - one at primary school and the other who had just taken his eleven-plus exam. Another pair were selected so that each couple had one child at the eleven-plus stage and one child taking "Lowers" that year. An extra pair of couples was included in this stage because :-

(a) It is a very active part of the family development since it includes the complete expansion period from birth of the first to the last child. New additions are being made to the family.

(b) It also covers the development of the child from birth to

sixteen and the growth of the child into an adult must have an important effect on family activities.

(c) With the possible exception of Stage 3 -isolation, it covers the widest span of time of all the stages in the cycle.

This means that the final experiment consisted of thirty-eight couples, not thirty-six as in the original plan.

In Stage (1) (c) one pair of matched couples each had the child working but living at home, one child of school-leaving age and one still at school.

The other pair each had one son at University who is living at home.

In Stage (2) fission of the domestic group, the pairs were chosen so that each couple in the pair had the same number of children in the domestic group and the same number who had left (according to criteria mentioned before).

## Stage 2.

### Chart 2.

<u>No. Couples</u>	<u>No Children at Home.</u>	<u>No. children left home</u>
2	1	3
2	1	1
2	1	4
4	1	2
2	2	1

One pair of couples in Stage (2) had one child at home and one who had left. One pair had two still at home and one who had left, two pairs had one still at home and two who had left. One pair each had five children, one of whom had left home. One pair

had four children, three of whom had left home.

In Stage (3) couples were matched according to the number of children they had and who had then left home and with reference to the length of time they had been away from home.

One pair each had one son who had left home the previous September. Another pair each had one daughter who had left home two to three years before.

Another pair were matched so that each couple had two children, the last of whom left home three or four years before.

One couple each had three children, the last of whom had left home seven or eight years before.

The last two pairs were matched according to age, since this may be as significant as the length of time the children have been away from home. One pair of couples where the husband and wife were both between sixty-five and seventy and had two children both away from home, another pair where the husband and wife were both between sixty-five and seventy and had three children all away from home.

In this way, the couples represent different age ranges and each pair represents differing stages in the time they had been separated from the other members of the original domestic group.

The couples selected can be seen in matching pairs in a similar chart to the previous one.



Chart 3.

Stage in Developmental cycle

R.G. I and II

R.G. III, IV, and V

3 phase model

4 phase model

1 (a)

1

Wilson  
Currie

Lawson  
Dee

1 (b)

2

McGregor  
Murray  
Row

Kane  
Carnegie  
Wood

1 (c)

2

Nelson  
Hicks

Dunlop  
Canning

2

3

Coates  
Jackson  
Bailey  
Rogers  
McMillan  
Marshall

Steel  
Brown  
Simmons  
Inman  
Gardner  
Warren

3

4

Scott  
Wilkins  
White  
Rankin  
Mitchell  
Spencer

Hobson  
Sanderson  
Jenkins  
Blake  
Cowan  
Menzies

Finding Families.

Bott's list of agencies contacted was a useful guide in looking for contacts to put me in touch with families.

Having selected the area, I approached local ministers, a teacher and a social worker. These were extremely helpful, expressed interest in the project and suggested names of possible

families. They seem to have been more willing to co-operate than those whom Bott's (Bott, op.cit.) team approached. Unlike the latter, the Oxington contacts were quite willing for me to use their name as an introduction to those they met only in an official capacity, provided of course that I made it clear that there was no compulsion to take part. These introductions were extremely useful and without them I feel the number of refusals would have been higher. The minister, teacher or social worker described the family composition, stage of developmental cycle and occupation of the husband and I decided whether they would fit the necessary criteria. In some cases the person contacted then asked the couple whether they would be willing to take part. In others, I was given their address and approached them, either by telephoning or by going round to their homes. I also approached the Labour Party and a fellow social anthropologist who lived in the area, both of whom gave me suggestions. Some of the research set were in fact suggested by other research families.

The response was most favourable and out of an initial sixty families contacted, there were only four refusals. Three of these were from fairly elderly couples in Stage (3) who felt their lives were so quiet they had little to contribute and who also did not wish to make the effort. The project and the necessity for three interviews was explained to the families. One couple decided after one interview that they did not wish to continue, so that another couple had to be found to fill their place. The good response might be explained by two factors. Firstly the subject of social networks was not of an intimate nature. Secondly social

anthropologists usually benefit from the fact that most individuals enjoy talking about themselves.

Finding the original families was fairly easy, but finding the matching pair was much more difficult. As a result, rather more families were contacted than were selected for the final experiment. I had the problem of explaining to families approached but not selected for the final experiment, why I did not wish to interview them after all. In fact, when I first approached them, I explained the project briefly and that I was contacting more families than I would eventually need. In most cases I later explained their lack of selection by the fact that I had too many families in the same stage of development as themselves. This was usually the case since many of the families I was referred to were in Stage 1 (b).

#### Research Techniques.

To look at the characteristics of the network I intend to use Mitchell's (Mitchell, op.cit.) classification. This was briefly described earlier in the chapter, but here it is necessary to note some further difficulties involved in collecting data on the interactional features, especially content.

Methods for studying interaction may be focussed on events or people. Where they are focussed on events, material may be gathered in the form of a diary and a note made of how the time is spent and with whom it is spent. Rich, (Rich, op.cit.) in her study of the Black country, got her informants to keep diaries in which the days were divided into episodes and they were to record the major event in each. This comprehensively covers a week's main activities and

the range of persons with whom ego interacts but does not cover chance meetings which may be of interest to the network analyst.

With a focus on people, questions refer to those whom people see most often; who are their particular friends; and to whom they turn in difficulty. This was the general approach I used, though some data on weekly activities were collected.

For the purposes of this type of questioning an interview guide was used. Questions had to be directed in a similar way to the different couples, but since my approach was centred on people, the pattern of the interview varied slightly according to the range of the social network. A questionnaire would have been too inflexible here, but an interview schedule referring to topics such as kin, neighbours etc. could direct the interviews along similar lines for all couples.

The couples were first asked to draw up family trees which gave me an idea of their knowledge of their own kin and, using this genealogy, I was able to find out how much they saw of kin and what sort of relationship they had with different members. In some cases, knowledge of the genealogy was very extensive and one informant, quite unnecessarily but to some extent for her own interest, managed to go back eight generations.

Then questions were asked about neighbours, work associates, members of voluntary associations to which they belonged, church members, contacts through children, and finally friends. By including friends as a category at the end, they were able to insert here any friends who had not been previously mentioned.

I conducted a very small pilot study which consisted of



interviewing five couples. The main value of this lay in the testing of the interview guide and in a brief analysis of the data collected to see whether in fact the interview elicited the material needed. Only five couples were used because the number of couples in the experiment was small and the difficulty in contacting families to fit the specific criteria meant I could not afford to use too many couples in the pilot study. One of these couples acted as a pilot study couple throughout the research project. I interviewed them on the first and second occasions before the other families to try out interviewing methods and also asked them to complete a diary some weeks before the other couples to see how useful the diary would be. I took full notes during the interviews because -

(1) In the first place the detailed information which I got from the interviewees required immediate recording, since it would have been impossible to remember all the kin and social contacts mentioned and the type of relationship involved.

(2) Secondly note-taking gives the interviewee confidence in the interviewer. Had I not taken notes, I believe the interviewees would have been unsure of my intentions and less willing to give information. By writing down what they said I gave the impression of being interested in the subject in which I told them I was interested and therefore, gave them an added reason for believing and accepting my role. I felt it was important that I should approach them in the role of a professional Social Anthropologist who wishes to conduct an interview into family life. In fact I found that if I stopped taking notes, the informants

often looked anxious and on a few occasions, asked if this was not relevant or they were boring me. So I found it useful on occasion, to make a pretence of note-taking when their information was in no way relevant to my research project.

From this formal relationship, a rather more informal one developed with several couples, which meant I could then "pop in" uninvited and collect further material from observation and informal discussions.

### The Interview.

The first interview was with the husband and wife and an interview guide was used. In this I attempted to draft out the couple's range of contacts and the size of the network. I also asked them to estimate how often they saw each contact mentioned and to give some indication of the type of interaction, for example, whether it was a chat in the street whenever they met, whether they visited each other's homes or whether perhaps they had ever stayed with each other. This interview was to give me a general picture of the couple's network.

In the second interview, I followed up their account of people mentioned in the first and asked how much contact there had been in the previous month. In this way, I had a recording as accurate as memory will allow of the time each person had been seen or whether there had been any contact by letter or telephone in the previous month and what type of contact it had been.

It is important to take into account letters and telephone calls when assessing contact between people since this may be the only sign of a close relationship. Where people are separated

from kin and close friends by distance, letters and telephone calls become an important means of communication. Bell has shown the importance of the use of the telephone in his study of Swansea families. He says "An indication of the inadequacy of direct frequency of contact as a measure and indicator of the structure and function of the extended family can be shown for example by the use of the telephone" (Bell, 1968b, p.178). He then goes on to show how often husbands and wives contact their kin by telephone.

In the second interview, too, questions were asked regarding the content of the relationships. Couples were asked to whom they gave gifts; who they helped in any way; or with whom there were any mutual obligations.

Thus this interview was divided into two main sections :-

1. As assessment of the structural features of the network by enumerating interaction between members of the network in the course of a month.
2. An assessment of the qualitative features of the network by discovering the content of the relationship.

At the end of the second interview, the couples were given weekly diary forms to be filled in each day of the week, relating whom they had seen that day; in what context; and for how long. They were also asked to record from whom letters and telephone calls had been received and to whom sent that day.

One of the difficulties of using diaries is getting people to keep them and fill them in. I was, however, very surprised to find that only one informant did not complete the diary. He was one of my most helpful informants and I think this was genuinely due

to pressure of work and time. Instead of being loath to complete them, the research set seemed anxious to fill them in "properly" and do the right thing. The diary gave accurate detailed information of a week's activity, though unlike Doris Rich's (Rich, op.cit.), it was 'people' focussed rather than 'event' focussed. It gave some indication of the time spent on each interaction so that casual meetings and arranged home entertaining could be well distinguished and the type of interaction discerned.

Thus I have approached the structural features of the network in three ways:-

1. A general assessment of contacts and frequency of contact. This is the least accurate approach but gives the widest picture. If, for example, the amount of contact in the previous month had just been taken, all those seen merely once a year, but who may be relatives or close friends living at the other end of the country, would have been discounted. Since in some cases the closest friends of the couple were seen only once a year, it is important that they should be included in the range of contacts. By the closest friends, I mean the people whom the couple themselves considered their closest friends. This, therefore, refers to the subjective categorisation of the informant. This approach gave some indication of the size of the network.

2. The second approach was to ask each couple about the frequency of contacts in the previous month. This was more accurate though not completely so, as one cannot guarantee that their memories are perfect.

3. The third approach was an actual record of a week's



interaction. This is the most accurate of all but, of course, only covers a week's activities and may therefore exclude several contacts.

With these three approaches, as accuracy increases, the range of the network covered will decrease and so by using these three methods, accuracy should be obtained and the full range of the network covered. For example, those people seen only once or twice a year will probably only be mentioned in the first interview. But since the couple see them so seldom, their estimate of an annual visit (usually constituting part of the summer holiday) is likely to be accurate. Where estimations might be inaccurate, for example chatting to neighbours or popping in to see them, the frequency of these contacts will be fairly accurately registered in the monthly and weekly periods under study.

The third interview was designed to follow up certain themes which were suggested by the first two. An interview schedule with more specific questions was used at this stage to collect comparable data. Questions were framed to provide more quantifiable evidence for factors which appeared to result from the more general assessment of the network. For example, by asking which five people were seen most often and details about these meetings, I collected data on the extent to which members of the network were seen jointly or separately. This could be compared quantifiably, and used to emphasise in more precise terms the material collected in the first two interviews. For although the findings may have been suggested by earlier interviews the data collected then cannot be so easily compared. A section of this interview was devoted to the way in

which contacts were actually formed in the different sectors. So, in addition to data on the importance of certain sectors, this gave information in the way relationships were initiated in these sectors. This could then be compared for class differences and also differences between the various sectors.

The couples were interviewed jointly in the first interview. In the second and third interviews, they were questioned together for part of the time and then I asked each of them individually for certain information. Since the network is couple focussed, the majority of time was spent with the couple but it was also useful, at times, to get the individual spouse's accounts.

#### Participant Observation.

As well as these three interviews, informants were seen on other occasions. There was the initial meeting with the couples to gain their co-operation but this also gave me some background information. Participant observation was used a good deal, since I would "pop in" to visit subjects, sometimes purely on social grounds, sometimes to elicit their help in contacting other families. This role of assisting seemed to appeal as they felt they were taking part in the project and not just being subjected to a storm of questions. These informal visits often led to meetings with members of the network and I was able to check some of the interview statements by watching behaviour in this way.

Thus my relationship with informants developed from an interviewer/interviewee one into a friendlier, more informal tie. Indeed Mrs. Hobson would suggest that we get the questions over quickly when I visited, so we could get down to the real business of a good chat.



Of course the type of relationship varied greatly with the different couples. For a few, it remained fairly formal, but for the majority it became one where I felt I could visit uninvited without disturbing the household. In some cases my husband and I were invited to visit socially. In these cases, the couples said that they felt I was a friend. This sort of relationship clearly provided a good deal of information, but attendant on this are the dangers of becoming too involved and losing all the advantages that may belong to "stranger value". It seems that it is worth risking this for a greater understanding of the network. If the research had continued, this might have become a real risk but, although I had become friendly with several of the couples, I did not feel any relationship was so affectively changed as to bias my study.

The other facet of participant observation was participation in various sectors. This was limited to some extent as, for example, I could never become a real member of an informant's kinship network. In preliterate societies anthropologists have on occasion been integrated into the society by becoming a kinsman of a useful informant (McKnight, 1970). This is rather more difficult in our society. One possibility would be to become 'aunty' to the small children in a family, but then this would only be feasible for some of the families in Stage 2. I chose one particular neighbourhood to study in detail as an example of this sector. The fact that it was a private housing estate, recently built, with a good deal of interaction between neighbours, made it a good laboratory for research. I attended the neighbourhood coffee morning's, got more detailed information on how interaction patterns had developed between the

neighbours since they first moved in to the area and generally spent a certain amount of time in the neighbourhood.

For the sector of associations, societies and clubs, I joined a local "Literary Society", which, despite its name, was more of a social club catering for a wide variety of people. Some of my informants in fact belonged to this society. Apart from seeing how the association functioned and how relationships were made and developed in it, it also provided another opportunity for contact with informants. By joining, I saw how newcomers were integrated into the society and also the pattern of relationships among members.

The work situation was again rather difficult and most of the information on this sector was gained from more detailed questioning on the topic and participation with informants and work associates outside the work situation.

#### Summary.

Before going on to discuss findings, it seems necessary to sum up some of the factors which give validity to the data. These are being emphasised at the risk of being repetitive, since the data are of such a general nature and not easily quantifiable and it is most important to pay attention to validity.

Firstly there were the three methods of collecting the data:- the general assessment, the monthly records and the weekly diaries representing different degrees of coverage and accuracy. There were questions to cross-check information by asking for the same information in different ways. Finally the informal visits helped to establish the truth of interview statements.



This chapter has covered the various methods used in the field. An argument was put forward for using depth studies rather than questionnaires and statistical analysis for gathering data on social networks.

The main points suggested were:-

1. Questions on a questionnaire cannot assess social relationships of informants as well as an interviewer's personal contact with informants.
2. Quantity studies often use frequency as a criterion for assessing the affectivity of a relationship. Frequency, however, is not always an indicator of content.
3. Statistical correlations cannot show causal relationships and may ignore intervening variables. These variables and the ways in which factors may be linked may be ascertained by participant observation and case studies.

The design of the research project was then described and the reasons given for doing a cross-sectional rather than a longitudinal study. Certain restrictions were made on the selection of couples for the project to ensure they were 'ordinary' couples. With these limitations in mind, couples were then selected for the experiment according to their stage in the developmental cycle of the domestic group and their social class. The Registrar General's categories were used for an indication of a social class position. Families were contacted through Ministers, teachers, social workers and other families in the area. The research techniques for carrying out the project consisted of a small pilot study, followed by a series of interviews conducted with the aid of an interview

guide and participant observation. Informants were also asked to fill in weekly diary forms.

In the following chapters I shall discuss the material that was collected. The next two chapters will deal with the social contacts and interaction patterns of couples, taking each stage in the developmental cycle in turn and seeing the particular characteristics of each stage.

## CHAPTER I

1. Stage I.
2. Stage 2.
3. Stage 3.
4. Stage 4.
5. Summary.

## CHAPTER 3

### Social Networks by Stage in

### The Developmental Cycle

The original hypothesis suggested that while social class is not the most important factor influencing network characteristics, there is a definite relationship between the stage in the developmental cycle and the type of network. I would suggest that the

#### CHAPTER 3

two are linked through the structure of the network sector. At this stage a subhypothesis can be put forward which is a development of the second main hypothesis to be tested. This subhypothesis is that "Different patterns of interaction occur in the different stages of the developmental cycle and that these are focussed on the different sectors of the network. The members of ego's network tend to be recruited from these sectors according to the different stages".

1. Stage 1.
2. Stage 2.
3. Stage 3.
4. Stage 4.
5. Summary.

In this chapter I shall discuss the different types of social contacts, the leisure time activities and the interaction patterns of the informants in order to demonstrate the subhypothesis mentioned above. The material will be discussed in terms of:-

1. The sectors that provide the contacts which are seen most frequently.
2. The extent of general participation with members of each of the sectors. Extent of participation will be seen in terms of frequency of contact and type of contact.

### CHAPTER 3

#### Social Networks by Stage in

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In this chapter I shall discuss the different types of social contacts, the leisure time activities and the interaction patterns of the informants in order to demonstrate the subhypothesis mentioned above. The material will be discussed in terms of:-

1. The sectors that provide the contacts which are seen most frequently.
2. The extent of general participation with members of each of the sectors. Extent of participation will be seen in terms of frequency of contact and type of contact.



3. Participation in voluntary associations and informal cliques.

I shall begin each sector by discussion the general picture, the contacts per month and finally per week. The material will now be referred to in terms of the four phase model described earlier, i.e.

Stage 1. Marriage - birth of the first child.

Stage 2. Birth of first child - first child leaving home.

Stage 3. First child leaving home - last child leaving home.

Stage 4. Last child leaving home - death of parents.

When in the discussion of the data I refer to a couple by name, I shall put their class and stage category after the name. Thus the middle class couples' names will be followed by M1, M2, M3 or M4, and the working class by W1, W2, W3 or W4.

Stage I

The four couples in Stage I all had networks dominated by old childhood friends and school friends. The table showing which sectors the five most frequently seen contacts were recruited from, shows that the highest percentage in this stage were seen in connection with voluntary associations.

Table I

Sectors of those most frequently seen by  
Stage in the Developmental Cycle of the  
family.

	<u>Kin</u>	<u>Neighbour</u>	<u>Work</u>	<u>Vol</u> <u>Assoc</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Stage I - Husband	4	2	3	10	1	20
- Wife	7	2	1	7	3	20
couple	11	4	4	17	4	40
Stage 2 - Husband	14	7	6	23	0	50
- Wife	11	28	3	7	1	50
couple	25	35	9	30	1	100
Stage 3 - Husband	11	8	17	22	2	60
- Wife	17	14	5	16	8	60
couple	28	22	22	38	10	120
Stage 4 - Husband	42	16	1	1	0	60
- Wife	40	18	0	2	0	60
couple	82	34	1	3	0	120
Totals:	146	95	36	88	15	380

As a percentage

Stage I - Husband	20	10	15	50	5	100
- Wife	35	10	5	35	15	100
couple	27.5	10	10	42.5	10	100
Stage 2 - Husband	28	14	12	46	0	100
- Wife	22	56	6	14	2	100
couple	25	35	9	30	1	100
Stage 3 - Husband	18.3	13.3	28.3	36.6	3.3	100
- Wife	28.3	23.3	8.3	26.6	13.3	100
couple	23.3	18.3	18.3	28.3	8.3	100
Stage 4 - Husband	70	26.6	1.6	1.6	0	100
- Wife	66.6	30	0	3.3	0	100
couple	68.3	28.3	.83	2.5	0	100

Table 2

Sectors of those most frequently seen  
by Social Class.

	Kin	Neighbour	Work	Vol Assoc	Other	Totals
Stage 1 - M.class	9	0	2	5	4	20
W.class	2	4	2	12	0	20
total.	11	4	4	17	4	40
Stage 2 - M.class	9	24	4	12	1	50
W.class	16	11	5	18	0	50
total.	25	35	9	30	1	100
Stage 3 - M.class	8	17	12	18	5	60
W.class	20	5	10	20	5	60
total.	28	22	22	38	10	120
Stage 4 - M.class	36	23	0	1	0	60
W.class	46	11	1	2	0	60
total.	82	34	1	3	0	120
	146	95	36	88	15	380

Next in importance were kin with the other sectors

providing a small proportion of the most frequent contacts. Most weekly interactions, however, were divided evenly between kin and those seen through a voluntary association.

Table 3

Weekly Interaction

Total no. people seen once a week or more by social class

		Kinship	Neighbourhood	Vol		Other	Totals
				Work	Assoc		
Stage 1 -	M.class	10	4	2	10	2	28
	W.class	15	8	9	15	0	47
	couples	25	12	11	25	2	75
Stage 2 -	M.class	4	42	3	15	0	64
	W.class	14	29	4	17	1	65
	couples	18	71	7	32	1	129
Stage 3 -	M.class	5	25	3	68	3	104
	W.class	28	30	5	22	6	91
	couples	33	55	8	90	9	195
Stage 4 -	M.class	19	25	2	12	5	63
	W.class	42	27	2	6	0	77
	couples	61	52	4	18	5	140
Totals		137	190	30	165	17	539

Table 4

Weekly Interaction

Total no. people seen once a week or more by stage in the Developmental cycle of the Family.

		Kinship	Neighbourhood	Vol		Other	Totals
				Work	Assoc		
Stage 1 -	Husbands	12	6	6	17	1	42
	Wives	13	6	5	8	1	33
	couples	25	12	11	25	2	75
Stage 2 -	Husbands	9	11	5	29	1	55
	Wives	9	60	2	3	0	74
	couples	18	71	7	32	1	129
Stage 3 -	Husbands	14	9	7	34	4	68
	Wives	19	46	1	56	5	127
	couples	33	55	8	90	9	195
Stage 4 -	Husbands	30	19	3	8	2	62
	Wives	31	33	1	10	3	78
	couples	61	52	4	18	5	140
Totals		137	190	30	165	17	539



Table 5

Weekly Interaction

Total no. people seen once a week by social class and by husband/wife.

		Vol					Totals
		<u>Kinship</u>	<u>Neighbourhood</u>	<u>Work</u>	<u>Assoc</u>	<u>Other</u>	
<u>Stage 1</u>							
M.class	Husbands	5	2	2	6	1	16
M.class	Wives	5	2	0	4	1	12
W.class	Husbands	7	4	4	11	0	26
W.class	Wives	8	4	5	4	0	21
	Couples	25	12	11	25	2	75
<u>Stage 2</u>							
M.class	Husbands	2	10	1	13	0	26
M.class	Wives	2	32	2	2	0	38
W.class	Husbands	7	1	4	16	1	29
W.class	Wives	7	28	0	1	0	36
	Couples	18	71	7	32	1	129
<u>Stage 3</u>							
M.class	Husbands	2	5	3	29	1	40
M.class	Wives	3	20	0	39	2	64
W.class	Husbands	12	4	4	5	3	28
W.class	Wives	16	26	1	17	3	63
	Couples	33	55	8	90	9	195
<u>Stage 4</u>							
M.class	Husbands	9	8	1	6	2	26
M.class	Wives	10	17	1	6	3	37
W.class	Husbands	21	11	2	2	0	36
W.class	Wives	21	16	0	4	0	41
	Couples	61	52	4	18	5	140
Totals		137	190	30	165	539	

Thus these two sectors provided equally the majority of contacts seen once a week or more.

More kin were seen as often as once a month or more, but this sector was followed by voluntary associations.

Table 6

Monthly Interaction

Total no. people seen once a month or more by Stage in the Developmental Cycle of the Family and social class.

	Vol					
	Kinship	Neighbourhood	Work	Assoc	Other	Totals
Stage I - M.class	20	10	10	16	16	72
W.class	28	21	15	20	2	86
total couples	48	31	25	36	18	158
Stage 2 - M.class	33	107	21	35	5	201
W.class	45	56	23	29	2	155
total couples	78	163	44	64	7	356
Stage 3 - M.class	37	67	20	103	23	250
W.class	56	53	11	38	25	183
total couples	93	120	31	141	48	433
Stage 4 - M.class	48	58	28	25	30	189
W.class	100	49	18	35	12	214
total couples	148	107	46	60	42	403
Totals	367	421	146	301	115	1350

Table 7

Monthly Interaction

Total no. people seen once a month or more by Stage in the developmental cycle of the family and husband/wife.

		Kinship	Neighbourhood	Work	Vol Assoc	Other	Totals
Stage 1 -	Husbands	24	15	15	24	9	87
	Wives	24	16	10	12	9	71
	couples	48	31	25	36	18	158
Stage 2 -	Husbands	40	55	35	44	2	176
	Wives	38	108	9	20	5	180
	couples	78	163	44	64	7	356
Stage 3 -	Husbands	40	33	31	50	19	173
	Wives	53	87		91	29	260
	couples	93	120	31	141	48	433
Stage 4 -	Husbands	71	44	30	20	20	185
	Wives	77	63	16	40	22	218
	couples	148	107	46	60	42	403
	Totals	367	421	146	301	115	1350

Stage 3.

M.class Husbands	18	20	20	41	11	110
M.class Wives	19	47		62	12	140
W.class Husbands	22	13	11	9	8	63
W.class Wives	34	40		29	17	120
Couples	93	120	31	141	48	433

Stage 4.

M.class Husbands	21	27	18	12	15	94
M.class Wives	27	31	9	23	15	95
W.class Husbands	50	17	31	8	3	91
W.class Wives	50	32	7	27	7	123
Couples	148	107	46	60	42	403
Totals	367	421	146	301	115	1350

Table 8.

Monthly Interaction

Total no. people seen once a month or more by social class and by husband/wife.

Table 9.

Kinship    Neighbourhood    Work    Vol  
Assoc    Other    Totals.

Stage 1

M.class Husbands	10	5	7	9	8	39
M.class Wives	10	5	3	7	8	33
W.class Husbands	14	10	8	15	1	48
W.class Wives	14	11	7	5	1	38
Couples	48	31	25	36	18	158

Stage 2.

M.class	Husbands	17	46	12	22	2	99
M.class	Wives	16	61	9	13	3	102
W.class	Husbands	23	9	23	22		77
W.class	Wives	22	47		7	2	78
	Couples	78	163	44	64	7	356

Stage 3.

M.class	Husbands	18	20	20	41	11	110
M.class	Wives	19	47		62	12	140
W.class	Husbands	22	13	11	9	8	63
W.class	Wives	34	40		29	17	120
	Couples	93	120	31	141	48	433

Stage 4.

M.class Husbands	21	27	19	12	15	94
M.class Wives	27	31	9	13	15	95
W.class Husbands	50	17	11	8	5	91
W.class Wives	50	32	7	27	7	123
Couples	148	107	46	60	42	403
Totals	367	421	146	301	115	1350



The people seen as often as once a week or once a month in this stage then were recruited primarily from kin and voluntary associations. The couples in this stage belonged to a number of voluntary associations. On average each couple belonged to 4.25 associations. As shall be seen this was not as high as the average for stage 3 but was above the averages for stages 2 and 4.

Table 9.

Voluntary Association Membership

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Joint</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Joint</u>	<u>Average</u>
Stage I	5	4	8	17	47.05	4.25
Stage 2	15	10	4	29	13.79	2.9
Stage 3	13	26	16	55	29.09	4.58
Stage 4	11	9	12	32	37.5	2.6
	<u>44</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>133</u>		

The high proportion of kin seen frequently was associated with contact with the family of orientation. All couples in this stage saw both sets of parents at least once a week, except for one, Mr. Currie's (M1) parents. They lived in the borders, and this prevented frequent contacts. Contact was usually in the form of a regular visit for a meal or for the day. All the wives and two of the husbands listed parents among those most frequently seen.

Mrs. Lawson (W1) and Mrs. Dee (W1) saw their mothers more often than once a week - the other visits usually being casual and through the day. Mrs. Dee (W1) usually stayed with her parents when her husband, who was a fireman, was on night shift.

In the four cases where one of the spouses had a sibling of the same sex, the sibling was seen at least once a week. Mr. Lawson (W1) and Mr. Dee (W1) saw their brothers more often than they saw their parents and as often as twice a week. Mr. Lawson's (W1) brother was, at the time of the study, helping him decorate the new home and during the week in which Mr. Lawson (W1) completed the diary, his brother visited the Lawsons (W1) on three evenings and spent most of Sunday with them. Mrs. Lawson (W1) worked in the same laboratory as her sister and as the latter and her husband belonged to the same badminton club, Mrs. Lawson (W1) saw them there. Mrs. Currie (M1) saw her sister when she visited her parents' home and also met her for lunch once a week. In both the cases where one of the spouses had a sibling of the opposite sex, they were rarely seen, but then both these siblings were married and living outside Edinburgh. There were a few other frequent contacts with kin, such as a maternal aunt of the Wilsons (M1) who lived with Mrs. Wilson's (M1) mother and whom they saw frequently. About once a month the Lawsons (W1) visited Mrs. Lawson's (W1) grandmother who had "open house" for all kin every Sunday. Mrs. Warren (W3) in Stage 3 said she thought they had visited relations far more when they were first married. On the whole, however, contacts with kin were with parents and at this stage, siblings of the same sex were a source of frequent interaction.

As can be seen in table I, page 59, the proportion of kin amongst the most frequently seen members of the network was fairly constant through the first three stages, so attention should be drawn to the importance of voluntary associations in Stage I.

On marriage a couple sets up house on their own, usually now in an area different from the one they grew up in. Very often, as in the four cases in Stage I, the wife works, they therefore have few opportunities to make friends in the new neighbourhood and have not the continuity of old ties there. At work, both spouses have had little time to advance and be successful or to establish a wide range of contacts through business. A business man's secretary or a junior bank clerk does not have the opportunity to meet many others in the same position. While one or two of the wives in Oxington liked to have a special friend at work to talk to in coffee breaks, in general the work situation provided few social contacts for these young couples.

Their social activities were not restricted by children and the necessity of baby sitters and they were quite free to follow their interests. A good deal of time therefore was spent in the company of others in various interest groups. There was a continuation of many of the patterns of activity that existed before marriage and couples continued to meet friends at clubs. The network of these couples was dominated by old childhood friends. In fact 55% of the most frequently seen contacts were first met in childhood as compared with 4%, 6%, and 1% in the other stages. Marriage did not radically alter the pattern of interactions and as will be mentioned later, more changes in the network took place on

the birth of the first child than after marriage.

Three of the couples had lived in Edinburgh before marriage and there had been little change in the pattern of their relationships since their "courting" days.

The two working class couples belonged to a peer group which consisted of a group of men who had grown up together and their respective wives or girlfriends. The Dee's (W1) clique had become institutionalised to the extent of regular weekly meetings. On the day of this weekly meeting the core of male members met at the pub to which they had been going for some years. The wives and girlfriends met in one or other of their houses to sew or knit and talk. Later the husbands joined them for a supper of tea and sandwiches. As well as this, Mrs. Dee (W1) went to a keep-fit class once a week with three of the wives from the clique and both Mr. and Mrs. Dee (W1) went to a dry ski school once a week with three of the couples from the clique. Saturday evening was often spent going out with another couple in the clique or to a party with them. The data on the week's activity before the second interview showed that the Saturday had been spent at the wedding of a couple of clique members, and in the evening there had been a party for the guests. Mr. Dee (W1) had known all the core members of the group since childhood and their wives and girlfriends had been met through them. These were not the only contacts the Dee's (W1) had. Mrs. Dee (W1) had a special friend at work and another work associate sometimes visited her at home. The diaries revealed that evening activity had only been spent with clique members and kin.



The other working class couple belonged to a similar clique, though this was centred on a badminton club. Mr. Lawson (W1) joined the club as a youth with some friends who lived near him and four of them had remained good friends. Mrs. Lawson (W1) joined the club and all were very active members, Mr. Lawson and a particular friend representing the club on a league. Mr. Lawson had also formed a badminton club among his work associates. The other four members of the first club and Mrs. Lawson (W1) are all members of this also and they therefore met Mr. Lawson's (W1) work associates here. This is the only occasion however when Mr. Lawson (W1) saw his work associates outside the work situation, except for one who, though not a member of the badminton club, played golf with Mr. Lawson (W1) once a month. It was the four members of the badminton club whom Mr. Lawson (W1) had known as a child, of whom the Lawsons saw most. One of them had a meal with the Lawsons (W1) once a week, usually popped in to see them two or three times a week and met them at the badminton clubs. The others were seen twice a week at least and three of these four were mentioned among those seen most often. Again the neighbourhood provided only one contact - another young couple without children. These the Lawsons (W1) met through one of the badminton clubs and they had got to know them better through living near.

Three of Mrs. Lawson's (W1) work associates visited her once a week for a sewing evening. One of these, whom she saw most often, had joined the badminton club. Thus the Lawsons' (W1) new friends from work had joined their main group of friends centred on the club.

*lived, when young, in Goldstream, and at 2 years old, his childhood friends*

The middle class couple who had always lived in Edinburgh met at a church youth club and most of their friends and those they saw most of were met at this club. Their "best pals", another young married couple, were met at this club. They, the Wilsons (M1), spent every other Saturday with this couple. They had been on holiday with them the previous two years. Their other friends from the youth club they saw twice a month. These friends did not meet as a group and cannot really be called a clique. They knew each other but usually two couples met on their own and these meetings were less frequent than those of the cliques mentioned. Mr. Wilson saw a number of his work associates in leisure hours, but the contact with each tended to be infrequent. Some of them were seen at a badminton club once a week during the winter months. Once the badminton season was over, however, there was no further contact with them. Mrs. Wilson, who was a teacher, saw very little of her work associates outside the school except for the annual school dinner. The next door neighbours, a young couple with a baby, saw the Wilsons to talk to in the garden almost every day though they only visited once a month and then usually for tea and sandwiches. The Wilsons had not been in the homes of any other neighbours, though they knew four couples to say "hello" to. The Wilsons belonged to an opera society as well as the badminton club, but none of the members of the former, except Mr. Wilson's father, were seen outside the club.

The last couple in this stage, the Curries (M1), had not both lived in Edinburgh previous to marriage, only the wife. The husband lived, when young, in Coldstream, and as a result his childhood friends

were still there. The Curries (M1) did not belong to a clique of any kind and this might have been due to the fact that Mr. Currie (M1) had moved from his home area. Most of his childhood friends were in Coldstream and, as we have seen with the other couples in this stage, it tended to be childhood and school friends who made up the clique. In the case of the Dees (W1) and the Lawsons (W1), it was the husband's clique that the couple joined. The fact that it was Mr. Currie (M1) who did not come from Edinburgh is another factor which may have prevented the Curries (M1) belonging to a clique.

Mrs. Currie (M1) was in close contact with two old school-friends, one of whom she saw once a week, the other two or three times a month. She was also friendly with one of the girls with whom she used to work, and they visited each other twice a month. Mr. Currie (M1) played golf with three of his work associates once a week, but they never visited each other socially and the main aim of the meeting was definitely to improve their golf. None of his other colleagues at the bank were seen outside the work situation.

The Curries' (M1) closest friends were in fact a couple who lived in Coldstream. The husband was a schoolfriend of Mr. Currie (M1) and the Curries (M1) saw them twice a month - this usually entailed spending the day with them and sometimes a week-end. This couple were included by both Mr. and Mrs. Currie (M1) amongst those they saw most often. Another old schoolfriend of Mr. Currie (M1) had married and settled in Edinburgh and the Curries (M1) exchanged alternate visits with them once a month.

In all four cases, childhood provided the most important recruitment area for the social network. The general figures on the five people most frequently seen by each spouse in this stage showed that the vast majority (82.5%) were childhood friends and kin, the former being the most important (55%). The patterns varied in the extent to which these contacts formed a clique, though in one case the lack of a clique was clearly due to movement from the home area. Since members of both middle class and working class networks were drawn from similar sectors, it seems that social class is not a distinguishing factor and that therefore the material for stage I supports the first hypothesis, that stage not class is the main factor affecting the character of the social network.

#### Stage 2.

For couples in this stage, the neighbourhood provided the highest percentage of most frequent contacts (ref. table I, page 59). There was not a great difference between this figure and the next two highest - those for voluntary associations and kin. The figures were more interesting when broken down into husbands and wives. Then we find the neighbourhood providing 56% of the most frequent contacts for wives, while the next highest figure is 22% relating to kin. In fact all stages, except for stage 4, show a fairly constant figure around 25% for kin which suggests that this sector supplies a constant proportion of contacts through the different stages. For the husbands in stage 2, it was the sector of voluntary associations which was the most significant providing 46% of the most frequent contacts, while kinship came next with 28%



and then neighbourhood with 14%. The sector of voluntary associations seems to come to the fore for husbands in stage 2, though the actual association varies - in three cases it was a public house, while in another it was a trade union and in another the town council.

The types of weekly contacts reflect a similar pattern. For middle class couples and for working class couples, the highest number of weekly contacts was recruited from the neighbourhood (ref. table 3, page 61). For the wives in this stage, the neighbourhood provided sixty out of seventy four of their most frequent contacts (ref. table 4, page 61) and the proportion was even higher for middle class wives, considered separate from working class wives, for whom neighbours provided the bulk of frequent contacts. Out of the thirty eight weekly contacts of middle class wives, thirty two were neighbours, while out of the thirty six weekly contacts of working class wives, twenty eight were neighbours (ref. table 5, page 62).

The table of monthly interactions showed similar results. The neighbourhood provided the highest number of network members seen at least once a month for both middle and working class wives (ref. table 8, page 65). For couples too, it was the most important form of recruitment of monthly contacts. But looking at the husbands' interaction patterns for those among the middle class, the positions of neighbourhood and voluntary associations are reversed in comparison with weekly contacts. So while the voluntary association supplied more people seen weekly, more of those seen less often but at least once a month were neighbours. Working class husbands seemed to distribute monthly contacts fairly evenly between

kin, neighbours and those met in the context of some interest group.

These figures then suggest that the wives in this stage focussed most of their interaction on the neighbourhood, while the husbands saw most of those met through a voluntary association and also had some contact with neighbours.

The birth of the first child is a turning point in the developmental cycle and has a great affect in changing patterns of activity. Gavron (Gavron, op.cit. p.77) found that "the birth of the first child, however, caused a much greater change than had marriage". Blood and Wolfe (Blood and Wolfe, op.cit. p.43) had a similar view when they said that "for the wife, it appears that marriage is not as great a role transition as becoming a mother". A child in the home means that restrictions are placed on the activities of the couple and especially the wife. She is cut off from a wide range of opportunities for contact as she is tied to the home. Blood and Wolfe (Blood and Wolfe, op.cit.) found that these restrictions were felt most by the wives with children under six and that they were felt less gradually as the children got older. Gavron (Gavron, op.cit. p.100) distinguishes between middle class and working class wives in this stage. "It appears that the period when the children are young is for many working class couples one of isolation and withdrawal into the home during which time the main contact with the outside world is via television". In contrast to this family-centred existence, the middle class wives in her sample made a greater effort to prevent being dominated by these ties. They made a point of making friends with neighbours, kept up contact with friends and regularly entertained them.

In Oxington there was a definite change in interaction patterns and a withdrawal from widespread participation, but the change in patterns was similar for both classes and there was little evidence of Gavron's (Gavron, op.cit.) distinction. There was a reduction in the number of weekly contacts - the average number seen at least once a week dropping from 18.75 in stage I, to 12.9 in stage 2. The drop was greater for the working class couples, but this was because of a greater number seen by the working class in stage I than by the middle class. Interestingly enough, the middle and working class couples in stage 2 saw a similar number of individuals once a week or more.

Table 10.

Total number seen once a week or more.

	<u>Total No.</u>	<u>Average per couple.</u>
Stage I - middle class	28	14
working class	47	23.5
total couples	75	18.75
Stage 2 - middle class	64	12.8
working class	65	13
total couples	129	12.9
Stage 3 - middle class	104	17.3
working class	91	15.17
total couples	195	16.25
Stage 4 - middle class	63	10.5
working class	77	12.85
total couples	140	11.6

The reduction in contacts took place in the areas most distant from the home. Associational membership was low in this stage. On average each couple belonged to 2.9 associations, this was not quite as low as in stage 4, but lower than in the stage before or the one after (ref. table 9, page 66). Madge (Madge, 1953) found that young wives in Worcester were too occupied with the children to join clubs and societies and said they considered they had no time for friends. Wives gave up their jobs during the child-bearing years, so they no longer had this source of contacts.

Some of the wives in this stage felt the loss of companionship brought about by their ties. Mrs. Kane (W2) said "We've lost contact with a lot of friends through having a family. When there are only two of you, you can do what you want. We don't go out an awful lot". Mrs. Row (M2) said they had had more friends before the children were born. Some of the wives in later stages described how the children, when young, had curtailed their activities - they did not want to leave the children and therefore rarely went out.

When a wife is tied to the home, the easiest source of contacts are those nearest at hand - the neighbours. Kin of course continue to be of assistance and if the young wife's mother lives near, she will no doubt take a great interest in the grandchild. But it is the neighbours who provide the bulk of day-to-day interactions. According to Morris and Mogey, (Morris and Mogey, 1965, p.50) "When families are tied to their homes, their range of acquaintances is very limited. They will tend to expect the immediate neighbours to fill the roles of both neighbour and friend".



The significance of the neighbourhood does not only result from the negative factor of the wife's inability to move from it but also from the positive stimulus of the children. In Oxington the children made friends with other children in the neighbourhood and mothers were brought together through them. They met collecting them from the local school and reciprocal relationships of child-minding, entertaining and assisting developed. Some of the older couples said they had made friends through the children, by meeting parents of their children's friends. Mrs. Cowan (W4) said the children had brought friends into the house and this brought people together because both sets of parents had the same interests - the children. She said they had lost contact with some of their friends when the children left home. Mrs. Blake (W4) explained how they had met parents of their children's friends - "the children's interests were our interests. Young people today don't take an interest in their children, that's what's wrong with them". When they were first married, they did not have much time for others and later found their family had taken up most of their time.

Kuper (Kuper, op.cit.) found that neighbours with children were more popular and participated more with other neighbours than those without. Willmott (Willmott, op.cit. p.70) too considered that children were an important influence on friendships. In Dagenham, "the children often eased the course of friendship for the older residents".

None of the working class wives saw less than three neighbours weekly, Mrs. Kane (W2) and Mrs. Carnegie (W2) seeing as many as eight

this often. Of the middle class wives, the least seen once a week or more was by Mrs. Nelson (M2) who only met four this often - the most here being nine seen by Mrs. McGregor (M2). Neighbourly visits usually took the form of "popping in for tea or coffee". All the wives with children under sixteen also saw neighbours in connection with their children. The Rows, (M2) for example, lived in what the inhabitants called a cul-de-sac, though in fact there was just a bend in the road that marked off six houses. Neighbourhood interaction could best be described in Mrs. Row's (M2) words, when she said of the cul-de-sac "they coffee, further up they say good morning or stop and chat. I don't know a soul beyond Mrs. Smith's shop" (sixteen - eighteen houses further along). The cul-de-sac was considered very friendly and three of the other families had children of a similar age to the Rows' (M2) boys. Several of Mrs. Row's (M2) visits to these neighbours were to leave or collect her boys or theirs.

The restrictions brought about by children need not be as binding for the husband. He has not yet become immersed in his work for this to provide many companions and so he looks to voluntary associations. However, the middle class husband in Oxington saw more of neighbours than in stage I. He had obligations towards his young family in providing companionship for his wife and in allowing her some freedom from family restrictions. As a result, he spent more time in the home and therefore had a greater opportunity of meeting the neighbours. The working class husband in this stage, however, had very little contact with neighbours. Recruitment to his network was mostly from voluntary

associations and kin.

The pair of couples, the McGregors and the Kanes, with two small boys, one pre-school and one at primary school, displayed a very similar pattern of activities despite the fact that in one case the husband was a banker and in the other he was a despatch clerk. The contacts of the banker's wife, Mrs. McGregor (M2) were almost entirely with neighbours. All those she saw as frequently as once a week were neighbours and all those, except for a friend living in another part of Edinburgh, she saw as frequently as once a month were also neighbours. Mrs. McGregor's (M2) family lived in London, which accounted for so little interaction with kin. But taking into account telephone calls and letters, she had weekly contact with her parents and monthly with Mr. McGregor's mother who lived in Castle Douglas. Apart from this, all correspondence and visiting between kin was less frequent than monthly contacts. All the people recorded in the diary were neighbours except for one friend of Mr. McGregor (M2) whom he brought home one evening, and all those seen most often were neighbours. The neighbourhood was defined as two roads, most of the McGregor's (M2) contacts lived on the same road as themselves, though Mrs. McGregor (M2) had a very good friend who lived on the other road. Mrs. McGregor (M2) knew about twelve of these neighbours to stop and talk to. Meetings with neighbours usually involved a chat in the road or over the fence and sometimes a cup of coffee. During the week under intensive study, she had coffee or tea with a neighbour on four out of five of the week-days. Except for one day on which she met no-one, the least number of entries for meeting neighbours was three. The

week-end was spent with the family and no social visits were made.

Other sources of contact were not really tapped. Kinship was not significant as both spouses' families lived some distance away. Mrs. McGregor (M2) had a job teaching at night school three evenings a week. This she felt was important as it was a way of "getting me out of the house". Here, however, she only came into contact with pupils whom she never saw outside the class, and the headmaster who lived in her neighbourhood and whom she saw as a neighbour anyway. Other friends of the McGregors (M2) lived outside Edinburgh, so they rarely got an opportunity to see them.

Mr. McGregor (M2) only saw one of his bank colleagues outside the bank and he lived three doors away and had two sons of similar age to the McGregors' (M2). Mr. McGregor (M2) and this colleague took it in turns to take the four boys to Sunday school. It was clear that it was the children and the proximity of the colleague's family which had encouraged this relationship. The McGregors said they would not call them friends, "something takes them out of the class of friends - they are too critical of people, you never know what they are saying behind your back". The most important source of interaction for Mr. McGregor (M2) was the local inn. He went there two evenings a week, the two his wife was not teaching, and might on occasion bring a friend back to the house for supper. His circle of friends and acquaintances here included some neighbours, but was mostly made up of men from the area rather than just the two streets defined as the neighbourhood. His diary showed five casual meetings with neighbours during the week, two evenings a week at the Oxington Inn with various acquaintances and



lunch time meetings with colleagues in the staff canteen. The McGregors (M2) did not belong to any clubs or associations. The five people they each saw most often were all neighbours or "pub" friends.

The Kanes (W2) had two boys of a similar age but lived on a council housing estate. Mrs. Kane (W2) spent more time with neighbours than with anyone else, though she saw more of both her own and her husband's kin than Mrs. McGregor (M2) did. These kin lived in Edinburgh and the Kanes (W2) had lived with his parents when first married. All those Mrs. Kane (W2) saw once a month or more were neighbours or kin. Five of these were kin and the other eighteen, neighbours. The neighbourhood here was defined as the whole council housing estate. In fact all the neighbours mentioned lived at one end of the estate. The other half was built first about fifteen years ago and since most of those on the waiting list were selected because of small families, these houses were then mostly occupied by couples with adult sons and daughters, most of whom had left home. The second half was completed seven years later and is inhabited mostly by couples with young families. It is not surprising that Mrs. Kane's (W2) contacts were all in this half, where neighbours lived nearer and where they had children of a similar age to her own. Therefore, despite the wide definition of the term, the area the neighbours actually came from was not much bigger than the McGregors' (M2) neighbourhood. Most of the contact with neighbours was in the form of casual conversations in the street, though sometimes they involved "popping" into the home. Some of these neighbours had children at the same

school as the Kane's boy and Mrs. Kane (W2) met them at the school when collecting the children. In three cases the continual contact through the children seemed to have cemented the relationship between the mothers. Mrs. Kane (W2) took the boys when she visited these neighbours and they sometimes took it in turns to collect each others children. One of these neighbours and her family went with the Kanes (W2) once a week to a swimming pool which had just been built in the new community centre, where the boys were learning to swim. All those mentioned in the account of the previous week's activities and all those mentioned in Mrs. Kane's (W2) diary, except for one accidental meeting with a work associate of her husband while she was waiting for the latter, were with kin or relatives. All the contacts with neighbours in the diary were of the nature of a ten-fifteen minute chat except for one occasion when Mrs. Kane (W2) visited a neighbour to see her new baby and stayed for an hour. The other entries for that week were a visit to Mrs. Kane's (W2) sister's home, a visit to Mr. Kane's (W2) parents and a return visit from his parents for a meal and to spend the evening.

The four kin seen on average once a week were both sets of parents, one of Mrs. Kane's (W2) sisters, and Mr. Kane's (W2) brother. Mrs. Kane (W2) did not belong to any clubs or associations and all those she considered friends lived in the neighbourhood. One of these she had met through her job before she was married and this friend had come to live on the estate. All the others they had met since they moved there.

Though Mr. Kane (W2) saw quite a lot of one neighbour, his time was spent mostly with kin and acquaintances from the local public house, and to a lesser extent with work associates. Those he saw once a month or more included five kinsmen, four work associates and seven named "pub" contacts. He had been going to this public house for several years and knew far more than seven of those who come in during the course of an evening. Mr. Kane (W2) went along to this public house on Wednesday and Saturday evenings. There were seven regulars who went on the same evenings and this group usually played darts. In fact they constituted a team though the only people they ever played were the other men in the public house. Mr. Kane's (W2) particular "chum" there sometimes visited him at home and as he was a house painter had assisted them with decorating their house. There was another friend whom Mr. Kane (W2) might visit occasionally, but the rest of the darts "team" were seen only in the context of the public house.

Mr. Kane (W2) rarely saw his work associates outside the work situation. There was an annual works function and he had a friend with whom he might on occasion have a drink. Apart from this he saw his associates only at tea breaks during a working day. He spent his tea breaks with the friend mentioned and two others. This contact was noted in the frequency chart since participation in this group was purely voluntary. The situation was defined by the organisation, but Mr. Kane (W2) might choose from other work associates with whom he wished to spend his break, or he might, if he wished, spend it on his own. Interaction here was voluntary

but since the choice was structured to some extent, it was difficult to compare it with participation in the public house group. This exemplifies the difficulty of comparing interaction frequencies. Though this has been attempted to give some objective assessment, it is clear that descriptive accounts of interaction patterns are necessary to make up for oversimplification due to figures.

Mr. Kane's (W2) diary showed he was out on two evenings - the Wednesday and Saturday at the pub and on the Saturday evening he went to visit his parents. The tea breaks during the working days were spent with his three friends and the only other contact recorded was a chat with some neighbours on the Sunday, when he was working in the garden. The five people he saw most often were two kin, one work associate and two "pub" friends. The five Mrs. Kane (W2) saw most often were all neighbours.

For both these couples the wife's interaction was mostly with neighbours, while the husband's was mostly with those he met in a public house. Kin were more significant for the Kanes, (W2) than the McGregors (M2) probably due to their greater proximity.

The section on stage 2 has shown which sectors provide most contacts for the network and how important the neighbourhood is in this phase. It was suggested that the birth of the first child is a more significant turning point in the life of the wife than marriage. These results are supported by sociological literature and also by the comments of informants. Finally, a matching pair of couples in this stage was described to show the similarity of the pattern of their social activities, despite their different class background.



Stage 3.

Table I shows that for stage 3 the sector of voluntary associations provides the highest percentage of most frequent contacts. Breaking this up into figures for husbands and wives, we see that the main emphasis on this sector is for the husband - 36.6%. The next source of frequent contacts for him is the work situation. This is the first time that this has featured as a prominent area of recruitment for the network. By the time a man has reached this stage in the developmental cycle, he is reaching the peak of his career and his job plays an important part in his life. In business and the professions it may be necessary too for the progress of his career to extend these relationships into leisure time or to use contacts of acquaintanceship to further business. As the wife of one prominent business man said "my husband has no friends, just business acquaintances. When men are in top positions, their time is not their own". Even where this is not the case, a man will have spent a good part of his life in the company of colleagues and will have got to know them well. Homan's (Homans, 1951) theory of interaction leading to sentiment is relevant here. Provided colleagues do not have strong dislikes for each other, it is likely that their continued interaction in the work situation will lead to relationships which are worth preserving for their own sake and therefore which will be maintained outside the office.

In this stage for the wives there does not seem to be one sector which provides a distinct majority of contacts. Indeed the

highest percentage of most frequently seen were kin, which is rather surprising. This figure is not much higher than the constant percentage for kin noted earlier and it may be that this appears prominent because of the wider spread of contacts over other sectors. The next two of any importance were the neighbourhood and the voluntary associations. The neighbourhood was relatively less important than in stage 2 while voluntary associations had increased their importance.

Looking at the table for weekly interaction frequency, (tables 3 and 4, page 61) we see a similar pattern of activities. The sector which provided the greatest number of weekly contacts for this stage as a whole was that of voluntary associations, which provided many more than the neighbourhood in second place. Voluntary associations were the most important sectors for both middle class husbands and wives, but not for the working class wives, who in this case recruited more weekly contacts from the neighbourhood but next to this voluntary associations provided the highest (ref. table 5, page 62). For working class husbands, kin seemed to be the most important source, with other sectors supplying few contacts but in similar proportion to each other.

At this stage both husband and wife, especially the latter were freed from the ties of a family. Their children were leaving home and less of their time was taken up with care of the children and provision of family needs.

Mrs. Rogers (M3) said she was never out when the children were young and it was not until the eldest was eight that she took

up outside activities. Mrs. Bailey (M3) said that when the children were young they had had few activities outside the home because of the need for babysitters, but now they had much more freedom.

Blood and Wolfe (Blood and Wolfe, op.cit.) have called this stage when the wife's absorption in the children results in serious discontinuity on their leaving home a role crisis. They consider it as drastic as retirement is for her husband. They suggest that the transition may be eased in three possible ways :-

- (1) The continuation of mothering into the grandmother role.
- (2) The resumption of work by the middle-aged housewife.
- (3) The partially successful restoration of the husband/wife relationship once this is all the wife has left.

The third suggestion does not really concern us here as it is concerned with the psychological adjustment of the wife within the family unit. It does, however, imply a restoration of the joint participation of husband and wife in social activities. This aspect will be considered in the next chapter which deals specifically with joint and segregated network interaction. The first possibility will be considered in discussion of the final stage.

The resumption of work is a solution favoured by some Oxington housewives. I would suggest another possibility is active participation in voluntary work and organisations. It seems that in Oxington it is this kind of activity or a job which are the main substitutes for the full-time occupation of a mother.

The class factor may influence a wife's choice here since the monetary incentive of a job may be greater for a working class wife. However, the greater tendency for middle class women to work through an inherent interest in the job or for purposes of career advancement rather than monetary gain would influence the decision the other way. In Oxington the former argument has greater validity. Of the six working class wives in this stage, three had part-time jobs and one had a full-time job. Of the six middle class wives, only one had a job and that was part-time. She and her husband had recently moved to Edinburgh and both complained of the unfriendliness of the place. It is more difficult for someone who does not know an area well to find out what organisations exist. This may have made associational activity less feasible for her than a job.

The other five middle class wives were all very much involved in voluntary associations. Three of these took a very active part in church work of some kind. Two of these were active members of a women's guild and also attended weekly bible study groups, went hospital visiting and belonged to other church groups, which together amounted to three or four meetings a week. Mrs. Bailey (M3) also attended meetings of the mission and visited Old People's Clubs. She played bridge twice a month and badminton once a week at a club and was treasurer of her Old Girls' Association. The other one, as well as belonging to the guild and other church groups, was on the Marriage Guidance Council which had two meetings a week. Mrs. Marshall (M3) belonged to the Inner Wheel which meet once a month, went to a floral art class once a week and the French



Institute once a week. She curled once or twice a week in winter and played bridge once a month. She also belonged to the Cancer Research Committee which met once a month in winter and attended political party meetings. Mrs. Jackson (M3) was a devoted bridge player, who played three times a week including the weekly bridge club meeting. She also belonged to a Drama Group and a Scottish Country Dance club which each met once a week.

Of the two working class women who did not have occupations, one was the vice-president of her guild, which took up a considerable amount of time. The other did not belong to any association or club. Even among those with jobs, there was some associational participation though not to the extent of the middle class wives. Mrs. Inman (W3) was the ladies' captain of a golf club, where she usually played three times a week in winter and five times a week in summer. She also played badminton with a club once a week and attended a women's guild once a week. Mrs. Gardner (W3) was also a member of a women's guild, while Mrs. Warren (W3) attended a social club once a week. Mrs. Simmons, (W3) who had a part-time job but belonged to no voluntary associations, felt very keenly the departure of her eldest son from home. She saw him and his wife twice a week, but still said six months after his marriage that she felt the loss of his presence in the home and was finding it very difficult to get used to this situation.

Associational membership was higher for couples in this stage than the other stages. On average each couple in this stage belonged to 4.58 associations, as against 4.25 in stage 1,

2.9 in stage 2 and 2.6 in stage 4 (ref. table 9, page 66). The middle class in this stage belonged to more associations than the working class, but the latter still had a higher average in this stage than in stage 2 or stage 4.

Table 11.

Voluntary Association Membership by Social Class

	<u>Middle Class</u>				
	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Joint</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Average</u>
Stage I	1	0	5	6	3
Stage 2	7	7	3	17	3.4
Stage 3	10	19	9	38	6.3
Stage 4	6	4	8	18	3.3
Totals	24	30	25	79	

	<u>Working Class</u>				
	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Joint</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Average</u>
Stage I	4	4	3	11	5.5
Stage 2	8	3	1	12	2.4
Stage 3	3	7	7	17	2.83
Stage 4	5	5	4	14	2.3
Totals	20	19	15	54	

Total number voluntary associations is 133.

Association membership was also greater among women than men in this stage. This may appear to contradict an earlier statement that voluntary associations were more important for husbands in this stage. In fact the voluntary associations provided a greater proportion of the husband's network than the wife's, while wives belonged to a greater number of associations. This suggests that wives saw a greater number of people than their husbands as the number of associations they belonged to would only provide a smaller proportion of the total contacts than the husbands' if the total number of contacts they saw was higher. Tables 4 and 7 do support this as wives indeed did see a larger number of people both weekly and monthly than their husbands. This reflects the greater effect of the dispersal of the domestic group on women. They were more likely than their husbands to feel the loss of family ties and respond by greater participation with those outside the family.

The financial factor influencing the different choices of middle and working class wives between paid employment and associational activity has been pointed out, but this may not be the only reason. Gavron (Gavron, op.cit.) found that working class wives felt the effects of family ties rather more than the middle class, who made an effort to transcend these ties and to lead a life less dominated by the children. This of course refers to an earlier stage, Stage 2, in the developmental cycle, but the same argument could be used to explain differences in this stage. Middle class wives, not having allowed their lives to be dominated by the children will feel their absence less. If they have devoted their

life to their children, they now make an effort to fill their lives rather than allowing themselves to feel the emptiness of a departed family. Mrs. White (M4) whose family had all departed had felt a terrible gap when the children left but had now got used to it and was enjoying the greater time she had to share with her husband. The working class wife may lead a life more restricted to the home when the children are young and, when they leave, be less able to find a solution. Mrs. Simmons (W3) is an example, for though she had a part-time job and this provided a source of interaction in working hours, she still felt the emptiness of the rest of the day. Another working class wife teased her husband about being out all the time and said she was in all the time and never did anything but sit. When the family was younger she did not have the time for outside activities, now she had "plenty of time, but nothing to do - everything costs money and I can't afford it". This suggests a combination of both possible factors. Middle class wives tended to be "joiners" more than working class wives. The latter were more likely to get a part-time job or they might perhaps, through a lack of opportunities, knowledge or education, feel an inability to fill the gap in their lives.

The other important network sector was the neighbourhood. Some of the neighbourly ties of stage 2 were retained while in addition wives looked for contacts beyond the neighbourhood. All the middle class wives except for Mrs. McMillan (M3), the wife with the job, had coffee with neighbours or a neighbour at least twice a week. Among the working class wives, the interaction with



neighbours was more informal, though just as extensive. Many of the informants in this stage felt themselves to be branching out into new activities and meeting new people. Mrs. Warren's (W3) account of the changes in her life and that of her husband's exemplify the general pattern. "As a young couple with a family, we were too engrossed in the family, too involved in it as a unit to make many friends. We made friends through the children but they weren't visiting friends - they were only met outside. Once the children began to make their own friends, the family became less of a full-time occupation. We had more time to ourselves, our old friends were in a similar position and we were glad to link up again and to meet new friends and to socialize in their homes". This situation was demonstrated by the Warrens' (W3) silver wedding. On this occasion Mrs. Warren (W3) wanted her old friends, that is those made before her marriage to meet her new ones, and so she invited both sets of friends to the party.

Mr. McMillan (M3) also explained how he and his wife were now in an "outgoing phase" of their lives. Early marriage he felt had also been an outgoing phase, but when the children were small they had been more inward looking. They had been restricted at this time in two ways. Firstly they had not had the time for many outside activities and had not been able to leave the children. Secondly, as the children grew up, expenditure on family items increased and it was not till the children were no longer their responsibility that they could afford to spend money on going "out and about" themselves. This is especially interesting coming from

the McMillans (M3) who led the least active lives of all the middle class couples in this stage, though this may be due to their having recently moved into a new environment.

Thus in this stage, reaction to the departure of the children was of two kinds. Some felt the loss of companionship in the home and found it difficult to handle this problem, others took advantage of their freedom from ties and participated actively in voluntary associations, jobs and neighbourhood. The latter was the more general reaction and it seems that, especially for middle class Oxington, Waller's characterisation of the "launching years of the family" in America as being "peak years" of activity is true (Waller, op.cit.).

Two couples can be looked at in more detail as examples of the networks of the conjugal pair at this stage.

The Marshalls (M3) had lived in Edinburgh for seven years, Mr. Marshall was the regional marketing manager with one of the nationalised industries and through his job they had lived in five other places in Britain. His job and associated social functions took up a great deal of his time. He usually got home from the office at about 8 pm. when they had no evening engagements. There were business dinners or other office functions once a week in winter, his wife went to about half of these. He attended British Institute of Management meetings once a month and meetings of a business organisation once a month and met other colleagues there. He also met colleagues among others at the weekly lunch-time meetings of the Rotary Club. There were seven of his colleagues whom the

Marshall's (M3) visited as a couple and whom they saw in leisure hours apart from special functions. Three of these they considered friends and they exchanged visits regularly with them. Mr. Marshall's (M3) diary showed that three evenings of the week were spent on business. Mrs. Marshall (M3) felt that work was her husband's hobby and said that in general work tended to be a man's hobby and interest. It spread over into his social life, took up a lot of his time and he met people through it.

As well as the business associations, Mr. Marshall (M3) was an active member of the Rotary Club. In addition to the weekly meetings, he attended the local committee on action for age once a month and was the leader for his group. The Marshall's (M3) saw other members at functions, dances and cocktail parties and two of them were good friends, who, with their wives, visited them regularly. Mr. Marshall's (M3) diary recorded the weekly Rotary meeting and a Saturday morning curling session and lunch with friends who were members of the Rotary.

Mrs. Marshall's (M3) numerous associational activities have already been listed. As well as the organised activities of these groups, she saw several members informally outside meetings. Four of the members of the Inner Wheel she saw frequently for coffee and also visited with her husband, for a meal or social evening. One of these went with her and two of her neighbours to the floral art classes. The other members of this class she saw at coffee mornings and exhibitions. There was one member of the Cancer Research Committee and one member of her class at the French Institute,

who she saw in leisure hours. Mrs. Marshall (M3) also curled once or twice a week in winter and played bridge once or twice a month. The Marshalls (M3) visited both curling and bridge friends for meals and saw them at cocktail parties and dinner parties.

The week the diary was kept happened to be one when several curling matches were on. As a result Mrs. Marshall (M3) curled five times in that week - on two occasions she stayed for lunch at the club and on another there was a special trophy presentation. She saw one of these curling associates in another context that week when they went shopping together. She met two of her Inner Wheel friends to go to a hat show and later in the week, one of them came round for tea and on another day the other went to a curling match with her.

Mrs. Marshall (M3) also saw one or two neighbours frequently. Like most of the other wives in this stage, she did not have frequent contact with a large number of neighbours like the McGregors (M2) and the Kanes (W2), but there were a few neighbours she had known for a long time and whom she saw frequently. Her immediate neighbour she saw every day either over the garden fence or in the house for a brief chat. This neighbour she considered a friend. They played bridge once a month and usually visited with their husbands once in two months. She also chatted to her neighbour on the other side frequently, they had coffee together once a month and visited as a couple about once in six months. Three of the other neighbours she also "coffees" with and they occasionally visited as a couple. One of these curled with Mrs. Marshall (M3)

where he played once a week and he also belonged to a golf club.



once a week. In her diary she had noted two informal calls by neighbours during the week.

The Marshalls (M3) still had close contact with friends in Fife, their previous home. Though three of these were considered close friends none of them were seen more often than once a month. As a result these contacts did not feature in an account of greatest frequency. The most frequent interaction was with those mentioned above. The Marshalls' (M3) kin also lived too far away for frequent contact. Their son David, was a chemical engineer who was in Denmark at the time of the research and hoping to go to South America, while the daughter Janet, nursed in St. Andrews. David was not seen very frequently, while Janet usually came home once a month.

The Inmans (W3) also had just one of their family still at home as the two elder boys were working in South Africa and Canada. They had lived in their council house in Oxington for nine and a half years.

Mr. Inman (W3) was a wages clerk, a job that did not lead to the same number of functions and associations as Mr. Marshall's (M3). He had become very friendly with one of his work associates; they saw each other outside working hours. This usually took the form of a drink together after work. Another was a member of the same golf club and they had a regular weekly game there.

Most of Mr. Inman's (W3) leisure time was spent with various voluntary associations. He was a member of a badminton club, where he played once a week and he also belonged to a golf club.

He played there three times a week in winter and four times a week in summer and usually stayed on in the club with acquaintances after the game. Every Saturday morning he played in a regular four, but on the other occasions he played with any of the club members. Two of the evenings and the Saturday morning of the week written up in the diary were spent at the golf club. He was also an elder in the church and sang in the choir. These involved him in choir practices and working parties with other elders. The five people he saw most often were a fellow member of the choir, a work associate, two golf club members and Mrs. Inman's (W3) brother who was also a member of the golf club.

Mr. Inman (W3) was orphaned as a child, and Mrs. Inman's (W3) parents were dead. The only frequent contact with kin was with Mrs. Inman's siblings. She had a brother and sister in Fife, whom they saw once a month, either the Inmans (W3) visiting them or vice versa. Mrs. Inman (W3) also had a sister in Edinburgh, whom she saw three times a week - usually these visits took the form of informal calls through the day. Her brother lived with this sister so she often saw him there. This was the brother they saw frequently at the golf club. Their two sons usually wrote once a week and their letters were reciprocated as often.

Mrs. Inman (W3) worked two days a week as a cashier but she never saw anything of those she worked alongside in leisure hours. Most of this leisure time was spent at the golf club. As ladies' captain, she had to attend committee meetings and played frequently

at the club with various members. She was especially friendly with three of the members whom she sometimes visited at home. Two of these also went to the badminton club with her. As well as belonging to sports clubs, Mrs. Inman (W3) was also a member of a guild. She went to meetings once a week usually with one or two of the four neighbours who belonged. She also met these neighbours shopping or in the street but, except for one, they did not call on each other and interaction was not very frequent. The exception was Mrs. Gardner (W3) and according to Mr. Inman, (W3) "Mrs. Inman's friend here is Mrs. Gardner". They saw each other about three times a week to talk to and sometimes went into each other's homes. Occasionally the Gardners (W3) spent Saturday evening at the golf club with the Inmans (W3). Mr. Inman (W3) sometimes drove Mr. Gardner (W3) to work and as both men were elders they met on church activities. There were two other neighbours Mrs. Inman (W3) saw fairly frequently, but they did not visit each other. In this case frequent interaction was confined to three neighbours.

In her diary, Mrs. Inman (W3) had noted four visits to the golf club - one of these lasted most of the Saturday. The other activities of the week included a morning's visit to her sister, a couple of meetings with neighbours and an evening at the guild. The people she saw most often were three golf club members, her sister and the brother who was also a member of the same club.

Here again we see the emphasis on voluntary associations as a source of interaction, with the work situation and neighbourhood

taking second place for husband and wife respectively.

Stage 4.

The figures for the final stage in tables 1 and 2 referring to those most frequently seen have a very distinct pattern. There is a very heavy emphasis here on kinship, this network sector providing 68.3% of the most frequent contacts of couples in this stage. This is a large majority and the percentage is similar for husbands and wives showing that kinship is of equal importance for both. The next network sector of any significance was the neighbourhood, from where 28.3% of the most frequent contacts were recruited. Again the percentages are very similar for husbands and wives. The other sectors provided hardly any of the most frequent contacts. These figures clearly represent a withdrawal into a network limited to kin and neighbours.

When we look at table 3 however, we see that although kin provided the bulk of the contacts seen once a week or more for the working class, for the middle class more neighbours than kin were seen this often. For the stage as a whole, that is both working and middle class couples, the balance is slightly in favour of neighbours rather than kin. As explanation of this rather contradictory evidence may be found in table 12.

This includes all weekly contacts by letters and telephone as well as by interaction. Thus this shows all those the couple were in contact with once a week or more, whether by personally meeting them or corresponding. Here there was a rise in the contacts with kin by the middle class and also a slight rise in the



Table 12.

Weekly Interaction

Total number of people contacted weekly, including  
correspondence and telephone calls.

	<u>Kin</u>	<u>Neighbourhood</u>	<u>Work</u>	<u>Vol</u> <u>Assoc</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Stage 1 - M.Class	11	4	2	10	2	29
W.Class	15	8	9	15	0	47
total couples	26	12	11	25	2	76
Stage 2 - M.Class	7	42	3	15	0	67
W.Class	14	29	4	17	1	65
total couples	21	71	7	32	1	132
Stage 3 - M.Class	10	25	3	68	3	109
W.Class	31	30	5	22	6	94
total couples	41	55	8	90	9	203
Stage 4 - M.Class	29	25	2	12	5	73
W.Class	45	27	2	6	0	80
total couples	74	52	4	18	5	153
Totals	162	190	30	165	17	564

This includes all weekly contacts by letters and telephone as well as by interaction. Thus this shows all those the couple were in contact with once a week or more, whether by personally meeting them or corresponding. Here there was a rise in the contacts with kin by the middle class and also a slight rise in the

working class, so that according to this table there were more weekly contacts with kin than neighbours for both classes. Amongst the more mobile middle class families, there was more likelihood of children moving away from their home town when they left their families of orientation. When they remained behind there was frequent interaction between them and their parents. But those who left did not break off contact, they still kept in regular touch through letters and the telephone.

The close bonds of the elementary family were not easily broken when the domestic group dispersed. As the conjugal pair grew older, they were limited by physical incapacities and were not so able to lead so active a life, meet new people or travel far to see old friends. Their old friends died and others in a similar position were not able to make extensive journeys for visiting. Contact was limited to those who were closest, both in terms of the emotional bond and physical distance and so kin and neighbourhood ties were the most significant. Many of the couples in this stage were grandparents and their time was fully taken up with their own families and grandchildren. If their children lived too far away to provide frequent companionship and small services and for the grandparents to reciprocate by babysitting, they then turned to those nearest them - the neighbours.

The withdrawal of the elderly from social activities and the contraction of their network has been noted in previous studies and Cumming et al. (Cumming, Dean, Newell and McCaffrey op.cit) have put forward a tentative theory of ageing which suggests that ageing is

accompanied by a process of disengagement from society. They found that the amount and variety of interaction decreased with age, and that there was also a change in the quality of interactions. The use of a social life space measure showed that the percentage of individuals acting in few roles increased with age as they disengaged themselves from the social structure. They also pointed out that an individual's actual perception of the constriction of his network is likely to occur with the separation of children and parents. The "aged" state is described as that of working in a small space and conceiving of it as constricted. Table 8 shows that in Oxington interaction also decreased with age. The average number of people seen at least once a week was lower in this stage than in any other stage. As well as interaction decreasing, we have noted the restriction of life space, which is mainly confined to kinship and neighbourhood. Associated with this is a reduction in roles. The grandmother who spends most of her time with the family and a few selected neighbours, clearly has fewer roles than her daughter who belongs to various associations and entertains her husband's colleagues as well as interacting with kin and neighbours.

Komarovsky (Komarovsky, op.cit.) has also noted this partial withdrawal from social activity with increasing age. She found that as old friends moved away and interests in sports, dancing and other physical activities which brought young people together declined, there was a general diminution of social activity.

This withdrawal from social activities was expressed by

several of the informants. Several of the men in stage 4 said they had no close friends. Mrs. Spencer (M4) said her husband had not kept up his boyhood friends and was not particularly friendly with any men at all - he was content with the garden. Mr. Cowan (W4) was another who had no contact with other men at all. He spent most fine afternoons, at least two a week, bird watching at a park and otherwise just read at home. The Blakes (W4) said they did not mix a lot as they were too old for that. They said that as they got older they met people less frequently. Retirement had made quite a difference in their lives as they now no longer engaged in social activities with colleagues and since their income was less on a pension, they had to cut down visiting. Mrs. Mitchell (M4) felt the departure of her family very keenly. Hers and her husband's social life had revolved around the family and their friends coming to the house. When the family left, she missed them a great deal. Before the kitchen had always been full of students discussing things, now she felt it was empty.

It is not surprising that this contraction of the network should lead to an emphasis on kin and neighbours. The importance of kin to the old in working class areas has often been stressed. Townsend (Townsend, 1963) showed how kin prevented the elderly from becoming isolated. In Bethnal Green (Townsend, op.cit.) it was those who had no relatives living near who were the loneliest. Townsend (Townsend, op.cit.) found that while old people had social contacts, few had close friends and where there were no relatives available, neighbours and friends could only partly fill their places.



Despite an attachment to the community the elderly relied mostly on the family. More recently there has been a movement to show that the middle class extended family is also a functional unit and that Tallcott Parsons' (Tallcott Parsons, 1955) isolated elementary family is not so characteristic of urban Western society. These writers - Sussman, (Sussman, op.cit.), Strieb, (Strieb, op.cit.) Rosser and Harris (Rosser and Harris, op.cit.), and Bell (Bell, 1968a) - stress the importance of kin relations for mutual aid and communications. Though the grandparent generation may not live near their offspring, they nevertheless assist them financially, often in an indirect form such as a large gift, to make their assistance more acceptable. They may also help in procuring jobs. The extended family, even among the middle class, often provides emotional support for its members, and also channels of communication despite lack of propinquity.

This point is demonstrated by the tables 1, 2 and 4 which show that the offspring provided important channels of communication for the older couple in both classes. The distinction lies in the fact that more of the middle class had moved away and therefore communication was in the form of letters and telephone calls rather than visiting.

Propinquity, however, did aid the grandparent role. The couples who had their families near at hand found their time fully occupied with the care of and interest in grandchildren, which the couples with absent families, did not. It was in this situation that I found the neighbours playing a more significant role. Out

of the twelve couples in the stage, the seven who were grandparents saw rather more of kin than the five who were not. The grandparents saw on average, 5.6 kin weekly, while the others saw 4.6 weekly. Taking into account letters and telephone calls, grandparents had weekly contact with 6.7 kin, and the others had contact with 5.4 kin.

In this pattern of mutual aid between generations, the grandparents in sociological literature appear to play the largest part. In a study by Hill (Hill, op.cit.) of three generations, it was found that the grandparents gave and received more help to and from the other generations than either of the other two. If grandparents then play the largest part in a pattern of mutual aid and at the same time their other social activities are restricted, interaction with kin will play a large part in their total interaction patterns.

The importance of the grandparent role would seem to bear out Blood and Wolfe's (Blood and Wolfe, op.cit.) suggestion, mentioned in the discussion of the third stage, that the wife's transition from stage 2 through stage 3 to stage 4 may be eased by the continuation of mothering into the grandmother role.

Townsend (Townsend, op.cit.) found that where there were no grandchildren, the relationship between the elderly and their offspring was strained. Services for the old parent could not be returned by baby "minding" and as a result there was a greater tendency for the old to feel useless and dependent.

Among the working class the least number of kin with whom

a couple had weekly contact was five. Among the middle class one couple had weekly contact only with their son. Another couple, who were very elderly and whose own parents had died, only had weekly contact with their married son and daughter. Another couple saw three kin at least once a week and another five once a month or more. These kin were usually offspring though in some cases siblings and parents were seen as often. Sometimes as in the case of the Wilkins (W4), three generations met regularly. Mrs. Wilkins and her married daughter had lunch with the grandmother once a week.

The Blakes (W4) felt they were too absorbed in their family to visit much. Their friends in the past had often been made through the children, since it was the acquaintances who had taken an interest in the family who had become friends. The Menzies, (W4) although living separate from their married daughter, usually saw one of her family every day. Indeed, Mrs. Menzies (W4) often said of people she did not see now that her daughter visited them for her. She saw so much of her daughter that she could pass on messages through her. When Mrs. Menzies (W4) broke her foot, her daughter came in every day to see her and clear up the house and make the tea. The grandchildren did her shopping for her. "We are all very good pals" was Mr. Menzies (W4) comment on his daughter's family and themselves.

The smallest number of neighbours seen weekly among the working class was two. But both the Hobsons (W4) and the Menzies (W4) who only saw two, were heavily involved in family affairs and

visiting kin. Among the middle class, the Rankins (M4) saw none as often as once a week. However it was interesting to see that both Mr. and Mrs. Rankin (M4) listed three neighbours in those most frequently seen and in fact the only people they did see weekly were their son and his wife. The Rankins (M4) lived a very quiet life and said they did not entertain at all. They even refused invitations because they did not entertain and did not wish to accept hospitality they did not intend to return. The three neighbours they saw most were usually seen once in ten days and one was very friendly with Mrs. Rankin (M4). The chart of people seen once a month or more showed quite an increase in the number of neighbours the Rankins (M4) saw and at this rate of interaction they provided the largest proportion of contacts. The Wilkins (M4) only saw one neighbour weekly but they spent a good deal of time with the family. The others all saw at least four neighbours as often as once a week. Husbands at this stage had rather more contact with neighbours than in other stages. Those who had retired spent more time at home or in the garden, where they had more opportunity of seeing neighbours. The Mitchells (M4) and the Whites (M4) had moved into their present homes only a year before, but the others had been living in their present homes for at least seven years - the Blakes (W4) for twenty nine - so they had had time to get to know the neighbours and develop lasting relationships.

Associations played a much smaller part in this stage than the previous one. On average couples in the final stage belonged



to fewer voluntary associations than couples in the other stages (ref. table 9, p.66). The only person who belonged to several was Mrs. Scott (M4). Her son had only left home six months before and she still belonged to the various societies she had joined earlier in life. In this respect the pattern of her activities was more like those of stage 3, which was interesting since the Scotts (M4) had only just moved into the final stage. This demonstrates the fact that changes take place gradually through the developmental cycle. The divisions between the stages were made at the points considered most crucial, but this does not mean that all changes take place at these points and no others.

The Whites (M4) and the Jenkins (W4) can be taken as more detailed examples of couples in this stage. Both had a son and a daughter who had left home.

Mr. White (M4) had a confectionary business and he did attend the occasional meeting on behalf of the business. Apart from this he did not see colleagues outside the work situation and he and his wife did not entertain any. His main interest was golf which he played at his club once a week. He said he had no close friends now and most of his interaction was with members of the family. He "popped in" to see his mother "almost every day". His father had died almost four months before which partly explains this very high frequency, but Mrs. White (M4) commented on the amount her husband visited his mother and said she hoped her son would be the same. She visited his mother once a week and saw her own three times a week. She spent two week-day afternoons with her and she

and her husband spent every Sunday afternoon with her. They also saw their married daughter on Sundays when they paid alternate visits for lunch. Mrs. White (M4) saw her daughter twice during the week as well, either visiting her or taking her to her grandmother's or shopping. The daughter had an 18 month old baby in which Mrs. White (M4) took a delight. Their son had been in the Navy but had given it up and at the time of the study, was doing a managerial course in Manchester. Mrs. White (M4) wrote to him once a week, though his replies were rather more irregular and usually by telephone.

The Whites (M4) had not long been in the neighbourhood, but they had met three neighbours. Mrs. White (M4) had been in for coffee with one of these and saw her frequently and the other two she saw on average once a week. One of their old neighbours came to see them every Thursday for tea.

Mrs. White (M4) belonged to a church guild, but was not as active a member as she used to be. She had been president one year, but now usually attended once a fortnight rather than every week. She used to belong to a Townswomens' Guild and other associations, but said she had not the time or the energy for these now.

Mrs. White (M4) stated five relatives when asked for the five people she saw most often - her own mother and father, her husband's mother and sister and her daughter. Mr. White (M4) named three relatives, a neighbour and the friend he played golf with every week.

It was also four years since the last member of the Jenkins (W4)

family left home. Both their son and daughter were married and they lived in different districts of Edinburgh. Mr. Jenkins (W4) was a retired sanitary inspector, who had gone back to his job in a part-time capacity. He took it on again because of the companionship, and because he felt he was somebody when he was doing a job. He never saw any of his work-mates after working hours.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins (W4) belonged to bowling clubs which were their main interests and which they attended once a week. Both clubs were in the locality and therefore quite a few neighbours belonged.

The Jenkins (W4) lived in a row of blocks of four flats, two on each storey. The two immediate neighbours they saw every day to stop and chat to. They might go into each other's homes to borrow something, but they rarely stayed for a cup of tea. They did not get on well with the neighbours in the flat above. Mrs. Jenkins (W4) related long stories of how badly brought up the children were and how much noise they made. As a result there was very little contact with these neighbours. There were six other couples living in the neighbourhood whom they visited for tea or coffee and saw about once in ten days. Three of the husbands belonged to Mr. Jenkins' (W4) bowling club and three of the wives belonged to Mrs. Jenkins' club (W4).

The Jenkins (W4) each named as those they saw most frequently the two immediate neighbours and three kin. The relations they saw most of were their son and daughter and Mr. Jenkins' (W4) brother

and sister-in-law. Their daughter and family came for the day with them every Tuesday and they went over to her house on Sundays, often going out for the day with them if it was fine. Mrs. Jenkins (W4) saw more of her daughter than her husband did and she babysat for her if necessary. They had no regular visiting with their son though they usually saw him once a week, in the form of a casual visit. Though her daughter-in-law had helped her when ill and although Mrs. Jenkins (W4) sometimes babysat for them, the relationship was clearly strained. Mrs. Jenkins (W4) admitted that she did not get on very well with her daughter-in-law. Mr. Jenkins' (W4) brother lived quite near and the two men usually saw each other once or twice a week. His sister-in-law belonged to the same bowling club as Mrs. Jenkins (W4) so she met her there as well as visiting.

For these couples social interaction had narrowed to frequent visits to and from kin, conversations and the occasional "cuppa" with a neighbour and the weekly bowling match, game of golf or guild meeting.

#### Summary.

In each of the stages of the developmental cycle, recruitment to the network was from different sectors. In the first stage voluntary associations and kin were emphasised, young couples tended to be outgoing and socially active. Interaction was mainly with the peer group with which they had participated before marriage. The importance of the peer group ended with the beginning of procreation. In the second stage the



neighbourhood was the most significant area. The interests of the couple were now focussed on their own family and contacts were limited to sectors which were near at hand. In the next stage, voluntary associations again and the work situation came to the fore as the family left home and the parents had the time and opportunity to turn to interests outside the home. Finally, the couple's network became dominated by kin. Old age brought a contraction of activities and interaction and a dependence on kin and neighbours.

The amount of interaction a couple had with members of its network also varied with the stages in the cycle. The pattern can be seen in the number of people a couple saw as often as once a week. This was highest in the first stage where on average each couple saw 18.5 people this frequently. This dropped to 12.9 in stage 2, but rose again to 16.25 in stage 3 and was at its lowest of 11.6 in the final stage.

These changes and the emphasis on different sectors were connected with stages in the cycle. The patterns outlined were the same for both social classes, except where minor differences are stated, as for example, the greater tendency of working class wives in stage 3 to take a job, while the middle class wives in this stage were more likely to join associations. Clearly the developmental cycle had a greater influence on recruitment areas for the network than social class. These findings demonstrate the original hypotheses that (1) Social class is not the main determinant of the character of a social network and (2) There is

a relationship between the stage in the developmental cycle of the domestic group and its social network. They also illustrate the subhypotheses put forward at the beginning of this chapter, i.e. "Different patterns of interaction occur in the different stages of the developmental cycle and that these are focussed on the different sectors of the network. The members of ego's network tend to be recruited from these sectors according to the different stages".

#### CHAPTER 4

##### 1. Network Size.

##### 2. Joint and Segregated Network Interaction.

##### 3. Summary.

## CHAPTER 4

### Network Characteristics

#### Network Size

Having established in chapter 3 a relationship between the developmental cycle and the social network, we must look at the third hypothesis which relates to the size of the network.

The hypothesis to be explored suggested that the network expanded with the expansion of the unit and contracted with its dispersal. In fact the members of the social networks of the

couples increased through the stages in the cycle until the family broke up and from then on the network remained about the same size.

The social network is a first-order zone of the total network made up of contacts specified by the conjugal pair.

Thus it includes people with whom interaction took place very rarely and also those with whom interaction took place very

frequently. It refers to all those who had some social interaction with ego. Though this includes all the social contacts

of ego, I do not call it a total network, because of the different meaning of the concept of total network as used by Barnes, (Barnes, 1969b)

Barnes has used this term to refer to all the social links in a community. He says "Whether or not this network may usefully

be identified with 'social structure' is neither here nor there; whatever it is, it is a first-order abstraction from reality, and

it contains as much as possible of the information about the social

## CHAPTER 4

### Network Characteristics

#### Network Size.

Having established in chapter 3 a relationship between the developmental cycle and the social network, we must look at the third hypothesis which relates to the size of the network. The hypothesis to be explored suggested that the network expanded with the expansion of the domestic unit and contracted with its dispersal. In fact the members of the social networks of the couples increased through the stages in the cycle until the family broke up and from then on the network remained about the same size. The social network is a first-order zone of the root network made up of contacts specified by the conjugal pair. Thus it includes people with whom interaction took place very rarely and also those with whom interaction took place very frequently. It refers to all those who had some social interaction with ego. Though this includes all the social contacts of ego, I do not call it a total network, because of the different meaning of the concept of total network as used by Barnes, (Barnes, 1969b). Barnes has used this term to refer to all the social links in a community. He says "Whether or not this network may usefully be identified with 'social structure' is neither here nor there; whatever it is, it is a first-order abstraction from reality, and it contains as much as possible of the information about the social



life of the community to which it corresponds". (Barnes, *op.cit.* p.56).

The actual rate of interaction with members of the network declined at this stage, as was shown in the last chapter by the number of people seen weekly in the different stages. Thus it seems that a married couple build up a network of friends and acquaintances as they pass through the stages of family development and when they reach the final stage they maintain some form of contact with them. They are now, however, unable to see people as frequently as before and their interaction with members of the network decreases.

The number of Christmas cards received by a couple was used as an indicator of social network size. In all but those with very large networks, the number of contacts mentioned in the interview were very similar to the number of cards received. Where networks are very large it is hard to assess an exact number of contacts and it is in these cases that an indicator is especially useful. Christmas cards are a useful guide as they are a standard form of recognising a relationship. Some symbol is necessary to perceive a relationship as a social reality. As Mary Douglas (Douglas, 1966, p.62) has said, "Without the letters of condolence, telegrams of congratulations and even occasional postcards, the friendship of a separated friend is not a social reality - it has no existence without the ties of friendship". Firth has used Christmas cards as an indicator of kin relationships. "Exchange of Christmas cards.....is also a rough test of

kin relationship". (Firth, 1956, p.45).

Cards require knowledge of the recipient's address and there is usually the obligation to reciprocate, thus they do indicate some form of relationship. On the other hand, they may indicate the most minimal relationships. Many couples would state relatives whom they had not seen for years and were only likely to see at weddings, christenings and funerals, and yet they always sent them a Christmas card. In this way, they maintained contact with them and demonstrated their recognition of them as kin, though they were only "peripheral" kin. Christmas cards then are a useful guide to the size of a network.

The number of Christmas cards received gradually increased through the different stages in both social classes, taken together.

Table 13.

Network Size.

Network Size shown by the number of Christmas  
cards received.

(a) Average number of cards received.

<u>Stage.</u>	<u>Middle class</u>	<u>Working class</u>
Stage 1	47.5	37.5
Stage 2	72	49.6
Stage 3	107.3	56
Stage 4	105	61

Table 13. (cont)

(b) Average number of cards received for total research set.

Stage I	42.5
Stage 2	60.8
Stage 3	81.65
Stage 4	83

(c) Number of cards received by couples (in matching pairs).

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Middle class</u>	<u>Working class</u>
Stage I	30	30
	65	45
Stage 2	40	38
	40	50
	80	50
	100	50
	100	60
Stage 3	70	50
	185	40
	120	50
	100	65
	85	62
	84	70
Stage 4	70	70
	180	80
	90	47
	200	80
	30	50
	60	40

The average number received in each stage increased up to stage 3 and then in stage 4, there was a slight decrease among the middle class and a slight increase in the working class average. There was therefore a general increase in the size of the social network for the two social classes taken together. Taking the two classes together and looking at the differences between the stages, we see that there was a definite increase with each later stage, the increase in stage 4, however, being very much smaller than all the others.

The concept of the social network is very wide and is used here to refer to a wide range of contacts. This is an attempt to estimate the network size and compare the sizes of the networks of the members of the research set. Later, I shall use a rather narrow type of social network made up of social contacts which will be clearly defined. This will be for the purpose of measuring density and called the extended network. However, if we look at the members included in these extended networks, there is very little difference between the averages for each conjugal pair in each stage.

These are:

Stage I	-	34
Stage 2	-	37.4
Stage 3	-	36.2
Stage 4	-	35.2

The differences here are so minimal as to be of no interest, so that it appears that changes in network size only occur when one considers a whole social network.



I would suggest then that the social network does increase in size with each stage in the developmental cycle, but that interaction patterns do not follow the same trend - greater interaction taking place in stages one and three, less in two and the least in four.

Though the network increased in size for all the couples through the different stages, the couples where the husbands were in professional and managerial occupations in general had larger networks than those where the husband was an artisan or manual worker. In two cases the matching pair of couples had the same size networks and in only two cases did a couple in the working class group have a larger network than their opposite number among the middle class. In one of these cases, the husband was a Trade Union Secretary, which gave him access to a very wide range of contacts. It could be argued that these figures merely demonstrate the greater tendency for the middle class to send cards than the working class. It is likely that this is more of a middle class than working class habit and that the middle class tend to formalise relationships more, but, as has already been pointed out, the number of cards usually coincided with the number of contacts made.

Again differences between the social class groups in the extended social networks were very small. It appears that there was no real class distinction on this level, though there was on the whole social network level.

Averages for the extended social network are:-

Middle class - 36.4

Working class - 35.4

If there is a social class distinction in the size of networks, it is necessary to ask which social class attribute is primarily responsible. Social class is a term which covers many characteristics, and it is insufficient to point to class position to explain network size. Surely middle class membership whether achieved or ascribed does not immediately provide one with a large ready-made network. It seems likely that differences in network size are due mainly to geographical mobility and that as long as the middle class are more geographically mobile they will have wider networks.

It is logical to suggest that mobility involves meeting new people in new places. The mobile individual who wishes to have human companionship is compelled to make new contacts and so increase the numbers of his network. The less mobile person has a group of friends and acquaintances and though he may be constantly adding to these, there is no necessity for him to make new contacts to provide companionship.

Klein (Klein, op.cit.) has pointed out that Young and Willmott's Woodford working class sample was more 'middle class' in attitude than the Bethnal Green counterpart. This she attributed to the fact that they had experienced more moves and so were geographically more mobile.

In order to explain the question of social class differences and network size, all the interviewed couples were classified

according to network size, and this compared with the number of places they had lived in as a measure of their mobility.

The couples were divided into three groups - those with small, medium and large networks.

Table 14.

Network Size and Geographical Mobility.

Social network size related to No. places lived in

Large Networks.

<u>Name</u>	<u>No. other places in Edinburgh</u>	<u>No. other places outside Edinburgh</u>
Nelson	2	7
Hicks	1	3
Bailey	0	4
McMillan	0	5
Marshall	2	7
Mitchell	2	5
Wilkins	2	4

Medium Networks.

<u>Name</u>	<u>No. other places in Edinburgh</u>	<u>No. other places outside Edinburgh</u>
Coates	2	0
Scott	0	2
Menzies	6	7
Wilson	0	0
Murray	0	2
Jackson	0	11
Rogers	3	4
White	2	0
Rankin	0	2
Wood	3	0
Carnegie	5	0
Dunlop	3	0
Canning	5	0
Inman	2	0
Gardner	3	4
Warren	3	0
Hobson	2	0
Cowan	0	3
Sanderson	5	9
Brown	2	3
Steel	0	1

Table 14 (cont)

Small Networks.

<u>Name</u>	<u>No. other places in Edinburgh</u>	<u>No. other places outside Edinburgh</u>
Currie	0	0
McGregor	2	3
Row	3	0
Spencer	3	0
Dee	2	0
Lawson	0	0
Kane	2	0
Simmons	2	0
Jenkins	6	0
Blake	2	4

The same indicator that was used to show the increasing size of networks with the different stages in the developmental cycle was used to mark off the groups. They were divided according to the number of Christmas cards received - the group with the smallest network being those who received 1 - 49 cards, the group with medium sized networks were those who received 50 - 99 cards and all who received 100 or more cards were placed in the group with the largest networks. Seven couples were placed in the group with the largest networks and they had all lived in at least three other places outside Edinburgh. On the whole the twenty one with medium sized networks had lived in fewer places outside Edinburgh than those with large networks, though they had lived in different parts of the city.



Of the ten couples with small networks, only two had ever lived outside Edinburgh and most of the others had lived in one house only in the town.

The material then suggests that geographical factors were important in determining the size of a couple's network and that since the middle class people tended to be more geographically mobile, they had wider social networks than the working class. But regardless of class membership, the social network of a couple expanded as they moved through the different stages in the developmental cycle.

#### Joint and Segregated Network Interaction.

The original three hypotheses have been explored, but the data suggested that as well as the type of network links, the interaction patterns with network members were related to the developmental cycle. This stage in the cycle seems to be responsible for the extent to which the conjugal pair's interaction with network members is joint or segregated and the material from this study suggests the following hypothesis:-

"The extent to which a couple interact together with network members will depend on the stage in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. The conjugal pair interacts jointly with network members after marriage and until the birth of the first child but, as the domestic group expands with the arrival and growth of children, the husband and wife develop segregated interaction patterns with network members".

Before discussing this hypothesis, two points must be made

about the concept of joint and segregated interaction with network members. Firstly it is necessary to clarify the point of "anchorage" of the network so that the confusion for which Bott (Bott, op.cit.) was criticised in the first chapter, does not arise. The social networks in my study are centred on the conjugal pair. Where interaction with network members is joint, husbands and wives see their friends and acquaintances together. Where interaction with network members is segregated, the centre is still the conjugal pair for even in the most segregated cases many friends and acquaintances are shared, it is the interaction with them that is separate. There may be some members of the network who are not known by one spouse and other members who interact more often with one spouse than the other. In diagrammatic terms, the lines linking joint contacts to the central conjugal pair are thicker than those linking separate contacts, if a line is taken to represent a degree of interaction. It seems more useful to represent ego as the conjugal pair rather than one spouse because in most cases, nearly all network members were known to both spouses, but in some cases interaction was joint and in others it was segregated.

Secondly, the terms joint and segregated refer only to the nature of interaction in the network and not to the role relationship. Bott (Bott, op.cit.) has linked joint and segregated role relationships to network density. When I refer to joint and segregated interaction with network members, however, I am referring to only one aspect of Bott's (Bott, op.cit.) role relationship - the extent to which husband and wife interact with network members together. I shall, therefore,

not discuss any of the other aspects of the joint/segregated role relationship, i.e. joint decision-making, marital companionship etc.

The couples were asked about various activities which involved interaction with others and whether they took part in these activities together or separately. Data were then collected on the extent to which couples saw friends and acquaintances together or separately, amount of couple visiting, the extent to which a couple employed a babysitter (which might imply a joint outing), the type of evening activities in which they participated, their joint or segregated participation in associations and changes the couples themselves felt they had experienced in their leisure activities over the years.

If we look at the extent to which the friends and acquaintances seen most often were seen jointly or separately, we can see striking differences between the stages. The couples were asked of all the five people they named as seeing most frequently, whether they saw them together or separately. In the first stage, 61.25% were seen jointly, while in the second stage only 34.4% were.

Table 15.

		% most frequently seen, who were seen jointly and separately:	
		<u>% seen jointly</u>	<u>% seen separately</u>
Stage 1	couples	61.25	38.75
Stage 2	couples	34.4	65.6
Stage 3	couples	43	57
Stage 4	couples	50	50

This is almost half as many and represents quite a change. Unfortunately it is impossible to use a test of significance in this case. This is because the research set were selected, and a random sample is necessary in order to use  $\chi^2$  and because the set is so small. Differences in such a small group cannot be tested by standard statistical methods. All that can be said is that the differences appear large enough to warrant comment. After this there was a slight increase to 43% in stage 3 and 50% in the final stage. Here we see that the people most often seen were seen jointly far more in the first stage than the latter ones, especially the second stage.

The couples were asked individually whom they saw most frequently, but there was a greater tendency for husband and wife to name the same people in the first and last stages. In these 27.5% and 36.65% respectively, of those named were named by both husband and wife. In stage 2 the percentage was only 11.25 and in the third stage 14. In the first and last stages the husband and wife tended to see the same people most frequently far more than in stages 2 and 3. The spouses in the first and last stages therefore were more likely to share their most frequent contacts.

The extent of frequent couple visiting seemed to be higher when couples were first married and had not the ties of children. This is the only stage where couples met other couples regularly weekly. While in stage 3 the number of couples people knew was higher, they were not seen so often. In fact, in stage 1 each couple on average saw 1.5 other couples weekly. In no other



stage were any couples seen weekly.

Table 16.

Couple Visiting

Average numbers of couples seen weekly,  
monthly and less often.

	<u>Weekly</u>	<u>Monthly</u>	<u>Less often</u>
Stage 1	1.5	2	2.75
Stage 2	0	2.5	.7
Stage 3	0	4	1.3
Stage 4	0	1.3	1.525

If we look at the amount of couple visiting per month, we see there was very much more in the first stage. Thus couples in this stage on average met up with other couples eight times a month as compared with only 2.5 in stage 2. In stage 3 couple visiting rose to four meetings per month and declined to its lowest of 1.3 in the final stage. This form of joint social activity then was much more common in the early years of marriage and there was a very definite decline in this activity after the birth of children. As Mrs. McGregor (M2) said, "We were more couples before the children were born, now we act as individuals; mums stick to mums and dads to dads".

We see then that after the birth of the first child, couples in Oxington restricted couple-visiting for a while and separate

interaction with friends and acquaintances became more frequent. Family ties imposed limits on evening activities and this was the time of the day that husbands and wives could be together. If a couple's evening activities are restricted in this way, there are two possible solutions. They may either try to keep up contacts, interests and activities by taking it in turns to bear the responsibilities of the family and alternate their evenings out, as the Inmans (W3) did. On the other hand they may prefer to give up most evening social activities, since they cannot be undertaken jointly, and to stay at home together. This was the Row's (M2) answer; they very rarely went out because they disliked going out on their own, and so the only solution was to spend the evenings in front of the television. Baby sitters are of course another answer but there seemed to be a great reluctance to rely on baby sitters in Oxington. The financial reason was clearly one explanation, especially among the working class families. However, one might expect kin and especially grandparents to assist here. But, though children were sometimes left with grandparents during the day, there was a definite disinclination to ask them to babysit. Couples expressed this attitude by saying either that they did not wish to impose on the grandparents or that they felt that their children were their own responsibility and therefore they should be the ones to look after them. In fact one of the grandparents in the final stage said he would be delighted to babysit for his son and daughter-in-law but the latter did not feel it was right to ask him. In some cases mothers said they did not wish

to leave their children with others. Mrs. Canning (W2) even said she would not trust her son with a baby sitter, "if I went out, then my husband would stay with the boy. Our son came first; he finished our going out together; after his birth we had to go out separately".

Of the ten couples who had children too young to be left alone, six said they never had a baby sitter. Of the other four, one asked the husband's mother and another the wife's sister about once a month. Mrs. McGregor (M2) asked a neighbour about once or twice a month and she would in turn babysit for the neighbour's children. The Rows (M2) said they would ask either a particular friend, or Mr. Row's mother or a neighbour but this was on very infrequent occasions.

It is therefore necessary to take a closer look at the way evenings were spent. We see from this that on average the young married couples spent more evenings a week, 2.5, going out together than couples in any other stage and that the least number, 0.4, of evenings spent on joint outings occurs in stage 2.

surprising that there was a high rate of evenings spent in together. So, on average, in a week couples in the final stage spent 4.25 days a week together, while those in stage 1 spent 3.5 a week together. In stage 2 it was only 3.6 evenings a week together. Even taking into account evenings in together, we find more evenings were spent together in stage 1 than in stage 3, which had the lowest number and this steadily rose through stages 2 and 3. But it must be remembered that the concept of joint and segregated

Table 17.

Joint/Separate participation in evening activities.

<u>Stage</u>	Av. no per week		Av. no per week	
	<u>Evenings in</u>		<u>Evenings in</u>	
	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>together</u>	<u>together</u>
Stage I	3	3	3	2.5
Stage 2	5.2	5.6	3.2	.4
Stage 3	4.3	3.15	2.5	1.2
Stage 4	6	5.5	5.5	.75

Taking into account evenings spent in together as well, stage I was still fairly high, though not as high as the final stage. In the latter outings were fairly infrequent so it is not surprising that there was a high rate of evenings spent in together. So, on average, in a week couples in the final stage spent 6.25 days a week together, while those in stage I spent 5.5 a week together. In stage 2 it was only 3.6 evenings a week together. Even taking into account evenings in together, we find more evenings were spent together in stage I than in stage 2, which had the lowest number and this steadily rose through stages 2 and 3. But it must be remembered that the concept of joint and segregated



interaction with network members implies joint and segregated contact with others. It is therefore more important to compare the outings together which brought them into contact with other people than the evenings spent at home by themselves. This clearly shows the greater joint activity in stage I than the others and the way this dropped as soon as the children began to arrive. Rather more joint outings took place when the family were leaving home, though this was never as great as in the early stages and in the final phase far more evenings were spent at home.

More evenings out, which involved associational activities, were also spent jointly in stage I than the others. Joint participation in associations was much higher in this stage. Thus we find that husband and wife in stage I had joint membership of 47.05% of the total number of associations attended by couples in this stage (ref. table 9, p.66). In stage 2, the couples were joint members of 13.79% of the total number of associations they belonged to. In stage 3, joint membership rose to 29.09% and in the final stage, it rose again, probably because of the smaller total number of associations to which older couples belonged, though it did not rise to as high a percent as in stage I. If we take away Church membership from this figure, since Church membership tended to be joint in most cases, the figures are more striking.

Table 18.

Voluntary Association Membership  
excluding Church membership.

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Joint</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% Joint</u>
Stage 1	5	2	7	14	50
Stage 2	15	9	0	24	0
Stage 3	13	26	5	44	11.36
Stage 4	11	8	4	23	17.39
	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>
Totals	44	45	16	105	
	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	<u>      </u>	

Here we find 50% jointly attended in stage I, while none were in stage 2, i.e. the only groups which husbands and wives belonged to together were Churches. Here again, it must be pointed out that the numbers we are dealing with are too small to use tests of significance and since they are so small they may tend to give a rather exaggerated picture. However, even allowing for some exaggeration, the trend here is very clear and all these factors point to a similar theme.

As already pointed out one of the difficulties of doing a cross-sectional rather than longitudinal study of the developmental cycle is the fact that differences may be due to individual

situations rather than actual changes. The informants were therefore asked about their own perception of changes in their activities and friends. Questions about changes brought about by children clearly could not be put to those in stage I so the remaining thirty-four couples were asked about the influence of a family on their lives.

To the question "Do you think the presence of the children influences the extent to which you and your spouse pursue activities outside the home ?", there were thirty replies in the affirmative, three negative and one "don't know"

- (1) Did you pursue activities outside the home more often before the children were born ?
- (2) Did you pursue these activities more often before they were born ?
- (3) Do you think you saw more of friends together before they were born ?
- (4) Did you share more friends before they were born ?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Total</u>
(1)	30	3	1	34
(2)	18	3	13	34
(3)	18	3	13	34
(4)	18	3	13	34
(5)	30	13	1	44

Table 19.

Informants' Perceptions of changes in interaction patterns with changes in the developmental cycle of the family.

Answers to the following questions :-

- (1) Do you think the presence of children influences the extent to which you and your spouse pursue activities outside the home ?
- (2) Did you pursue activities outside the home more often before the children were born ?
- (3) Did you pursue these together more often before they were born ?
- (4) Do you think you saw more of friends together before they were born ?
- (5) Did you share more friends before they were born ?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Total</u>
(1)	30	3	1	34
(2)	18	3	13	34
(3)	18	5	11	34
(4)	18	7	9	34
(5)	10	11	13	34



Those replies were often accompanied by comments such as Mrs. McGregor's (M2) "very much, the children changed our whole lives".

Eighteen agreed with the question "did you pursue activities together more often before the children were born ?", while five answered no, and eleven were unable to answer. The main reason for this was the interruption of the war years and this proved a major stumbling block in collecting information of the past. Many of the couples had been engaged, young marrieds or just starting a family when the war broke out and this of course had completely disrupted their social life. In several cases it was impossible to compare friendships and activities before and after having a family because the situation had been so distorted by the war. As a result there was a very high rate of "don't know" answers to these questions.

To the question "Do you think you saw more of friends together before the children were born?", there were eighteen replies in the affirmative, seven negative and nine "don't knows". Looking at agreements and disagreements, a clear majority answered yes and therefore felt that their own lives supported the general thesis.

The next question asked whether they shared friends more before the children were born and here the answers were different. There were more negatives - eleven - than the ten affirmatives. This indicates that, though couples felt the children had brought about a decrease in joint interaction with friends, this had not led to a break down in the sharing of friends. Couples felt they

still shared friends though they might not see them so much together.

The concept of joint friends involves the idea of joint ties of affection which is of greater importance and less easy to assess than the factual information of joint behaviour patterns. It is possible that while couples recognised an inability to interact with people together frequently, they still felt they shared the less tangible bonds of friendship. This feeling does not necessarily depend on behaviour and is therefore not so directly influenced by restrictions on family activity.

From the answers that were not complicated by the war, it appears that the informants felt the presence of a family had led to a decrease in activities, especially joint ones and a decrease in joint interaction with friends, though they were evenly divided over the extent to which the children had influenced the sharing of friends.

From this it appears that a general pattern of joint and segregated activities can be associated with the developmental cycle in Oxington. This pattern seems to take the following course:-

At first, the conjugal pair pursued activities and interests together and made new contacts with other couples who shared similar interests. The young couple were not yet involved in their own family and its interests and so they had the time and the inclination to look for friends among other young couples. They did not have the opportunities for contact that a family provides so that they

had only their own interests to lead them to contacts and since these were usually pursued together, they made joint friends and interacted with network members together.

With the birth of children, the network pattern began to change. Until the youngest child was old enough to stay in the house on its own at night, one of the parents always had to be responsible for the child. The parents could not go out of the house together, unless they took the children or unless a relative or friend babysat for them. As a result, one spouse was left in charge of the children while the other pursued his or her interests or visited friends. The wife might take the children with her during the day - shopping or to friends for coffee - or she might leave them with a neighbour while she did her shopping.

Mrs. Inman (W3) explained how, when the boys had been small, she and her husband could not both go out together. As a result, though they both belonged to the same badminton club, they took it in turns each week to go so that one was always in with the boys. "If you have a family, you don't go out much together".

Mrs. Nelson (M2) said that once they had started a family, they had not been able to do things together so much. They had done everything together before the children were born, but when the family were growing up, it changed their social life completely; they were never free. When the children started school, husband and wife were not tied by them during the day, but that was the time when the husband was usually working, so that there was little opportunity for a joint interaction with network members to develop.

In the evening, there was still the problem of baby sitting. Very often couples would be friendly with other couples, but while the wives had coffee together in the morning, the husbands met in the evening or on the golf course. Thus, the network of the wife of one couple would involve other wives in the neighbourhood and her husband's network might involve some of their husbands, but there would be little activity involving couples with other couples.

When the children started leaving home, the parents were again free to carry out activities and visit friends together. It seems, however, that by then the pattern of segregated interaction with network members had become a way of life and it was not often that a couple reverted to joint interaction with network members. At this stage, most interaction was with contacts made in earlier stages of the developmental cycle and couples tended to maintain these contacts as well as making some new ones.

In the final stages of the developmental cycle, social activities became fewer, often due to physical and sometimes financial necessity. Old friends died or might have moved away and there were not the opportunities to make new contacts. Social interaction was limited often to relatives and neighbours and since husband and wife were now at home during the day and most of their contacts visited them they saw the same people in the home together. However, contacts outside the home were still usually pursued separately.

Though there has been no previous research specifically on the joint/segregated nature of network interaction except for



Kapferer's (Kapferer, 1969) study of two couples in an African township, some of the literature from other studies supports the hypothesis. Bott (Bott, op.cit.) herself suggested, that the joint or segregated nature of the husband and wife's role relationship might vary according to the stage in family development, but since her research sample consisted of families all in the same phase, she could not investigate this thoroughly. She says :-

"In the first phase, before they had children all couples had far more joint activities, especially in the form of shared recreation outside the home. After their children were born, the activities of all couples had become more sharply differentiated and they had had to cut down on joint external recreation. Data from the group discussions with wives in the third phase, when the children were adolescent and leaving home, suggest that most husbands and wives do not return to the extensive joint organization of the first phase even when the necessity for differentiation produced by the presence of young children is no longer so great". (Bott, op.cit. p.55).

It is interesting to see that Gavron (Gavron, op.cit.) in her study of the captive wife, finds that contacts are made individually rather than by the couple, but her sample from which she draws this conclusion are all in the second stage of family development, since all have one child at least under five years of age. She says, "Despite the fact that the majority of couples appeared to ignore the division between male and female roles within their own nuclear family, social contacts were still made

separately rather than as a unit". (Gavron, op.cit. p.97). It seems that the reason for this lies in their position in the cycle.

We saw in the previous chapter how peer group activities ended when the conjugal pair started their family of procreation. This is rather different from the pattern found by Gans (Gans, 1962) in his study of American Italianates. For them there was a break in the peer group society on marriage and then a continuation of these group activities later in their married lives after the birth of children. So while in Oxington, peer group activities were initiated before marriage, continued after marriage and broke up with the birth of children, amongst the American Italianates, the peer group was initiated before marriage, broke up on marriage, but formed again after the birth of children. The reason for these differences can be seen to lie in the nature of the composition of the group. The Americans had single sex peer groups while in Oxington they were essentially mixed. Clearly single sex groups are not likely to be successful during the first years of married life when the couple's activities are mostly joint. However, once the children are born and husband and wife take up more independent activities, they are more likely to belong to single sex groups. But the mixed peer group will of course be more favoured in the early years of married life. Once the household begins to expand, husband and wife can no longer join in the joint activities of the peer group so easily. I suggest that it is the joint/segregated nature of the network interaction in different stages that explains the different pattern of peer group activities

in these two areas.

Komarovsky (Komarovsky, op.cit.) found in her study of working class marriage that there was a close link between joint social life and age. "The factor which is most highly associated with the frequency of joint social life is the age of the couple, especially the age of the husband. Such activity is the pastime of couples in their twenties; it declines sharply with age". (Komarovsky, op.cit. p.317). She pointed out that lack of a joint social life did not imply withdrawal from social contacts - each spouse could enjoy an active separate social life with friends of the same sex.

Age and the stages in the developmental cycle progress together and it is difficult to distinguish which is the most fundamental factor when increasing age and the later stages in the cycle are accompanied by a decrease in joint social activities. It is clear that both are going to have some effect. However, for the following reasons I would suggest that the developmental cycle is a more fundamental factor here. While one can talk in general terms about increasing age leading to a decrease in social activities, with the developmental cycle one can point to significant sociological features and changes which bring about specific changes in social activities. It is easy to understand why elderly people are not so socially active as young, but there is no reason why their fewer activities should not still be carried out together. If a couple are becoming too old to go dancing with other couples, age can explain why they might take up bridge instead but it does not explain why this should be played separately rather than jointly

with friends. Increasing age may explain a decrease in social activities, it does not explain why activities of husband and wife become more segregated. The family cycle however, gives a precise reason why changes should take place with increasing age.

Since past histories support the data gained from a cross-sectional study it seems as if this is a trend associated with the developmental cycle rather than different generational approaches. Komarovsky (Komarovsky, op.cit.) comes to the same conclusion when investigating the relationship between age and joint social activity: "The more active social life of younger couples may represent a new trend that will continue into later years. But we suspect that for them also social life will decline with age. Old friends move away, interest in sports, dancing and other physical activities, which bring the young couple together, declines; some marriages will deteriorate and prudential considerations dictate less spending on "fun" and more on necessities". (Komarovsky, op. cit. p.318).

The data from Oxington then show how interaction with others and participation in activities which involve social interaction tended to be joint in the first stage of the cycle, became segregated after the birth of the first child and remained segregated. The comments of informants showed some awareness of these changes. These changes in the joint/segregated nature of network interaction have also been suggested by the results of other research workers.



Summary.

This chapter has been concerned with examining two hypotheses. Firstly data were produced in connection with one of the original three hypotheses - that with the expansion of the domestic group the social network of the family expands and with the dispersion of the family, the network contracts. The data however showed that the social network expanded with each stage in the developmental cycle and that this continued even through the stage of the dispersion of the family, until the last stage of the cycle where it stayed about the same size. Thus the original hypothesis was not borne out and in the light of the material, I would suggest that the social network increases in size with each stage of the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Interaction patterns, however, do not follow the same trend and interaction with network members declined in the last stage.

Secondly, a hypothesis was put forward that the joint/segregated nature of social network interacting depends on the stage in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Material, in the form of the couples' patterns of interaction with friends and acquaintances, the extent of their couple visiting, their social activities and their participation in associations, was described to demonstrate the hypothesis. The comments of informants and their perception of changes in their own social activities also supported the hypothesis.

## CHAPTER 3

### Kinship

We have seen the way the stage in the developmental cycle influences network patterns. In different stages, different sectors were emphasised as recruitment areas for the network.

Since the aim of the study is to look at the formation and development of a network and since we have seen the general pattern of changes,

## CHAPTER 5

it is now necessary to take a closer look at the sectors to see how the links in the network were made and maintained in these social areas.

- By looking at the following:
1. 'Kin of orientation' familistic couples.
  2. Husband's and Wife's Kin, as others.
  3. Women as the focus of kin interaction.
  4. The Function of Kinship ties.
  5. Summary, as formation of links within a sector.

Having seen how the stage in the developmental cycle affects macro-changes in the network, we can now build up a dynamic model in terms of the way in which the network links are formed. I use the term 'macro' to refer to large scale network changes. These are large scale in two ways - firstly they refer to the general nature of the whole network and secondly they refer to changes over a lengthy period - in fact the life-time of a family. Micro-changes in the network refer to a different level of activities,

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### Kinship

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These are changes which take place within a part of the network and since they refer specifically to the way contacts are made and the network formed, they take place over short periods of time.

Since sectors have been stressed it seems appropriate to look at network formation in terms of these.

'Kin of Orientation' familistic couples.

When looking at kinship, we face a major problem in that of course the individual has no choice in who his kin are, as he inherits them. This has been suggested as an obstacle to network analysis, but seems rather superficial criticism. True the individual inherits his kin, but he may have a fairly wide range of kin, though few of the Oxington families had as large a kin universe as that of Colin Bell's Evans family (Bell, *op.cit.*) The Evans had one hundred and forty-five live kin and they were so localised that one hundred were invited to the christening of the son of John Evans and in fact ninety-six attended the ceremony. Where ego does have some choice is in which kin he sees, with which he has close ties, and how much of them he sees. The question is not which ties does he initiate, but which kinship ties are maintained; which are dropped; why they are maintained; and what functions these ties fulfil. As Jane Hubert says, (Hubert, 1965) "This element of selection of kin with whom a person will keep up contact is very important, and is one of the most significant aspects of the material gathered from this (Hubert's) middle class sample of families". (Hubert, *op.cit.* p.73)

Though the individual has the choice of which ties to search



maintain or drop, this is clearly limited and encouraged by certain factors. As Jane Hubert (Hubert, op.cit.) points out, two factors suggest that the kin who are not recognised are not positively dropped. These may in fact have no contact with ego's parents in which case he has little opportunity to get to know them. On the other hand, interaction with kin may decline if ego has neither the time nor the money to keep up the relationship.

Which ties are maintained ? I want to demonstrate that in Oxington there are two main factors affecting the maintenance of kinship ties, the closeness of the kin tie and the sex of the kinsman or kinswoman.

With regard to the closeness of the kin tie, it is the families of orientation and procreation which are most important in Oxington. My research set may be considered 'kin of orientation' familistic in Adams' terms (Adams, 1971). He has suggested a trichotomy of ideal types for describing kinship in an urban setting. These types are :-

(a) Nuclear familistic - concern is for the spouse and children and there is little concern for other kin.

(b) "Kin of orientation" familistic, who are actively engaged in perpetuating ties with parents and siblings, their kin of orientation, as well as with their families of procreation" (Adams, op.cit. p.131).

(c) Wider kin oriented - contact and concern for a wider range of kin.

I want to show that in Oxington the couples of the research

set were 'kin of orientation' familistic. Adams himself had similar findings and he says of his research sample "When attention turns from parents and siblings, the kin of orientation, to cousins and other secondary relatives, one is hard pressed to find great significance in such relationships among young Greensborites" (Adams, op.cit. p.128).

Following Adams terminology, I shall use the word secondary to apply to kin outside the families of orientation and procreation and by implication, primary to apply to members of the families of orientation and procreation.

Tables were drawn up to show the rate of contact with kin. These rates include correspondence and telephone calls as well as meetings and visits. The importance of including these forms of communication has already been stressed. The tables are composed of all the kin recognised by the informants, and their rate of contact with each.

Table 20.

Interaction with Kin

Total Research Set.

<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Brother</u>	<u>Sister</u>	<u>Son</u> <u>Daughter</u>	<u>Uncle</u> <u>Aunt</u>	<u>Cousin</u>	<u>Nephew</u> <u>Niece</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Weekly	26	18	17	28	42	3	4	2	1	141
Monthly	7	2	14	22		18	13	2	4	82
Quarterly	1	1	25	25		29	34	17	2	134
Yearly			25	20		39	77	39	2	202
Less Frequent			2	4		64	162	60	3	295
No contact						21	103	14		138
<b>Totals:</b>	34	21	83	99	42	174	393	134	12	992

Table 21.

Interaction with Kin by Social Class.

Middle Class

<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Brother</u>	<u>Sister</u>	<u>Son</u> <u>Daughter</u>	<u>Uncle</u> <u>Aunt</u>	<u>Cousin</u>	<u>Nephew</u> <u>Neice</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>total</u>
Weekly	14	9	3	13	18		1			58
Monthly	4	1	9	9		10	5	2	2	42
Quarterly			13	11		27	20	4	2	77
Yearly			14	6		22	43	15		100
Less Frequent				1		24	114	23	1	163
No contact						13	48	5		66
Totals:	<u>18</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>231</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>506</u>



Table 22.

Interaction by Social Class  
Working Class

<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Brother</u>	<u>Sister</u>	<u>Son</u> <u>Daughter</u>	<u>Uncle</u> <u>Aunt</u>	<u>Cousin</u>	<u>Nephew</u> <u>Niece</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Weekly	12	9	14	15	24	3	3	2	1	83
Monthly	3	1	5	13		8	8		2	40
Quarterly	1	1	12	14		2	14	13		57
Yearly			11	14		17	34	24	2	102
Less Frequent			2	3		40	48	37	2	132
No contact						8	55	9		72
Totals:	16	11	44	59	24	78	162	85	7	486

These show a very definite tendency, in both middle and working class groups, for primary kin to be seen more frequently than secondary. There were thirty-four informants with mothers alive and twenty-six of these had weekly contact with them, while seven had contact with them at least once a month. Only one couple was in contact with the wife's mother as infrequently as four times a year. Similarly of the twenty-one fathers alive, eighteen were contacted every week, two monthly and only one quarterly. Although most uncles, aunts and cousins were in contact once a year, usually at a family gathering or maybe through a Christmas letter, only a few had weekly or monthly communication with these relatives. It is also interesting to note that all couples with offspring living away from home had some kind of weekly contact with them. This varied from a weekly telephone call from a student son who had not the time to write, to a married daughter who saw her mother several times a week, shopped with her, had lunch with her and left the children with her when necessary. But though the type of contact may vary there is clearly an attempt to maintain weekly contact with the family of procreation.

The classification which Firth (Firth, 1956) uses in his two studies of kinship in London can be used to show the importance of primary kin. "By effective kin is meant all kin with whom some social contact is maintained, as by correspondence, occasional visits or attendance at family ceremonial. It is convenient to distinguish also two categories of effective kin, the peripheral kin and the intimate kin. With the latter, social contact is

purposeful, close, and frequent. With the former it is distant, accidental and sporadic" (Firth, op.cit. p.45). The genealogies of two couples in stage two were analysed in detail and the kinship ties categorised according to Firth's characteristics.

Table 23.

Classification of McGregors' and Kanés' kin.

<u>McGregor.</u>	<u>Intimate</u>	<u>Peripheral</u>	<u>Non-Effective</u>
Parents	2		
Siblings	1	1	
Uncle/Aunt		2	1
In-laws		1	
Nephews & Neices		1	
Cousins		2	2

Kane

Parents	2		
Siblings	2	2	
Uncle/Aunt		6	1
In-laws			
Nephews & Neices			
Cousins		6	3
Gt. Aunts		2	

For both couples, the intimate kin group was composed entirely of members of the family of orientation and for both there were no members of the family of orientation amongst the non-effective

kin. All parents were included in the intimate category, while siblings were divided between intimate and peripheral. Thus social contact tended to be more frequent and closer between primary kin than secondary kin.

Couples were asked to draw up genealogies, which were used for two purposes. Firstly they gave an indication of the size and range of the recognised kinship network. Secondly they provided a useful starting point for further questions about relationships with kin. The main variation in the size of the kinship network occurred with the different stages in the developmental cycle and the pattern was similar for both social class groups.

Table 24.

Average no. kin recognised by each couple

	<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Working Class</u>
Stage 1	28.5	29.5
Stage 2	21.4	23
Stage 3	23	21
Stage 4	32.5	30.5

Average no. kin recognised by each middle class couple - 26.15

Average no. kin recognised by each working class couple - 25.42



The average number of kin recognised by a couple in stage I was high; it decreased through the next two stages and rose to a peak in the final stage. It seems that this would reflect the predominance of the family of orientation in the first stage of the cycle and the family of procreation in the final stage.

When young couples were first married they maintained close ties with their families of orientation. Through these they kept in touch with secondary kin, who would in fact be primary kin to their parents - for example, aunts, uncles and grandparents. With the birth of their own children they became more preoccupied with the nuclear family. They maintained contact with parents, but they focussed attention on their own families and withdrew attention from secondary kin. As time passed their parents died, thus the important link with secondary kin disappeared. As Adams has said "Ageing parents play a particularly central role both in perpetuating their nuclear families of procreation, i.e. in linking the siblings together after they leave the parental home, and in maintaining their family of orientation, or ties with their own ageing siblings and their children.....After the death of the older generation there is likely to be loss of interest on the part of young adults in their secondary kin". (Adams, op.cit. p.130). In the final stage, the couple's own family had left home and so attention was focussed especially on the family of procreation, but also through them on secondary kin such as grandchildren and sons-in-law and daughters-in-law.

It is not only the parents in the family of orientation but

also the siblings who have close ties with the couple. However, these ties do not form a strong peer group as did those of Gan's (Gans, op.cit.) Italianates. Rather than forming a peer group, it seems that one particular sibling bond is valued more highly than the others. This may be due to a more affective tie, this usually being the case between siblings of the same sex - sometimes a woman named her sister as a close friend. It may be due to proximity, so that while couples may like to keep in touch with siblings, there is only one who lives near enough for them to see each other frequently. It may be the case that the sibling is a batchelor or spinster and has become attached to ego's family as a primary group to which he can belong. Couples who had single siblings living near often said they saw more of these siblings than the others, because they had no family of their own or because they were so fond of the children.

This emphasis on selecting one or maybe two siblings can be seen by comparing tables 20 and 25.

Table 25.

Kin noted among the five most  
frequently seen contacts.

	Mother	Father	Brother	Sister	Uncle	Son	Daughter	In	Nephew	Cousin	Son-in-	Law	totals
					Aunt			Laws	Neice				
W. Class	9	6	7	12	3	2	5	7	3	1	3		58
M. Class	7	6	2	7	2	2	2	5		2	2		37
Totals:	16	12	9	19	5	4	7	12	3	3	5		95

It must be pointed out here that the number of kin among the most frequently seen is ninety five in table 25, and this does not correspond with the one hundred and forty six kin amongst the most frequently seen in table I, (page 59). This is because in table I, every person mentioned is included, so that for each informant there is a total of five people. In some cases husbands and wives, though asked individually, gave the same names. Thus in table I, each person mentioned is listed under the appropriate sector, and when a person was mentioned by both husband and wife, he was listed twice. This was important since comparisons were to be made between the social contacts of husbands and wives and thus a record had to be made of each contact noted by each of them. Table 25 (page 160) however, refers to the actual kin named. Since some had been noted by both spouses, only ninety five kin appear in this table. To return to the point under discussion, among those who were most frequently seen in table 25 was exactly the same number (twenty eight) of parents as of siblings. Thus parents and siblings were amongst the most frequent contacts in equal proportions. But table 20 (page 152) shows that contact with all siblings varies from weekly contact to contact that is less frequent even than annually. Thus it seems that from these there is likely to be one, with whom ego keeps up frequent contact and who will be among those seen most often, while others may go abroad or have little in common with them. The latter are represented in the frequency charts as being seen annually or quarterly.



The working class group seemed to prefer siblings for frequent contact more than the middle class. Nineteen siblings were amongst the most frequently seen by the working class as compared with nine among the middle class. One suggestion for this could be the existence of larger families among the working class. To test this, the number of siblings of the working class members of the research set was compared with the number of siblings of the middle class. The working class group as a whole had one hundred and three siblings, compared with the seventy nine of the middle class. This means that on average the working class group had 2.74 siblings per person, while the middle class had 2.08 per person. There is a difference here, which may have been responsible for the greater number of siblings amongst the most frequently seen by the working class. Another factor here is the greater mobility of the middle class which tends to separate siblings.

Hubert (Hubert, op.cit.) found in her sample of middle class families that there was a distinct difference in contact with the family of orientation and the rest of the kin universe. Some sort of contact was maintained with 81% of the former compared with 32% of the latter. A definite attempt was made to maintain ties with parents and siblings while contact with more distant kin was affected to a greater extent by geographical distance and personal factors.

(Hall, op.cit.) stresses this role of the middle class husband's father in financial assistance though this may be indirectly through gifts. Rather than Young and Willmott's

She (Hubert, op.cit.) found too that physical distance affected the maintenance of kinship ties. It seems, however, that in Oxington, distance only affected the type of contact with primary kin and not whether the tie was maintained or dropped. Thus, a son or daughter in the south of England was contacted once a week by letter or telephone instead of the visit which would be possible if he or she lived in Edinburgh. The element of personal preference can be seen among the Scottish families, in the cases where close contact was maintained with one particular sibling. In some cases this was due to physical distance and, in others, purely to individual choice.

The figures for interaction with kin, the size and range of the genealogies in different stages of the cycle and the significance of siblings then all show the importance of primary compared with secondary kin in Oxington.

#### Husband's and Wife's Kin.

It is with primary kin then that the couple had the most constant ties. Each couple however, has two families of orientation and early kinship studies stressed the role of the wife's kin, especially that of the wife's mother. More recently, however, Rosser and Harris (Rosser and Harris, 1965), and Colin Bell (Bell, op.cit.) have found that both the husband's and the wife's parents have a significant role towards their offspring. In fact, Colin Bell (Bell, op.cit.) stresses this role of the middle class husband's father in financial assistance though this may be indirectly through gifts. Rather than Young and Willmott's

Table 26.

(Young and Willmott, op.cit.) triangle of mother/daughter/husband, Rosser and Harris (Rosser and Harris, op.cit.) see the structure of the extended family depending on the four-cornered relationship of husband's mother/husband/wife/wife's mother.

In oxington too, contact with one family of orientation was as important as contact with the other. Mothers and fathers of both husband and wife were contacted frequently - and there was little difference between the wife's and the husband's kin.

Frequency	Husband's kin					Wife's kin					Total
	Mother	Father	Daughter	Son	Grandchildren	Mother	Father	Daughter	Son	Grandchildren	
Daily	12	6				9	12	16	11	4	71
Monthly	5	1				8	12	16	11	4	67
Quarterly						13	12	16	11	4	56
Yearly						13	12	16	11	4	56
Like frequent						2					2
No contact											
Total	17	7				42	48	64	44	20	223

Table 26.

Husband's Kin

<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Brother</u>	<u>Sister</u>	<u>Son</u> <u>Daughter</u>	<u>Uncle</u> <u>Aunt</u>	<u>Cousin</u>	<u>Nephew</u> <u>Niece</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Weekly	12	8	8	12	19	2		1		62
Monthly	5	1	5	12		3	4	2	1	33
Quarterly			12	16		15	12	9	1	65
Yearly			15	11		20	32	23		101
Less Frequent			2	4		33	93	33	1	166
No contact						9	50	11		70
<b>Totals:</b>	<u>17</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>191</u>	<u>79</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>497</u>



Table 27.

Wife's Kin

<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Brother</u>	<u>Sister</u>	<u>Son</u> <u>Daughter</u>	<u>Uncle</u> <u>Aunt</u>	<u>Cousin</u>	<u>Nephew</u> <u>Neice</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Weekly	14	10	9	16	23	1	4	1	1	79
Monthly	2	1	9	10		15	9		3	49
Quarterly	1	1	13	9		14	22	8	1	69
Yearly			10	9		19	45	16	2	101
Less Frequent						31	69	27	2	129
No contact						12	53	3		68
Totals:	17	12	41	44	23	92	202	55	9	495

It seems that couples made a point of keeping in contact with both families of orientation. Though contact was maintained with both sides, it could be argued that one tie was more functional than the other. More will be said about the function of kin ties later, but at this point it may be noted that which ties are functional depends more on geographical and personal factors than whether they are the husband's or the wife's kin. If one set of parents lived near the couple, while the others were some distance away, the former would be asked to babysit or approached in times of difficulty. In some cases one set of parents might lead such an active life that there was little time for helping in their son or daughter's home. An interesting example of personal characteristics influencing this situation was the case of a young middle class couple. When asked who they would go to in an emergency, the wife said she would go to her husband's mother - "I suppose it should be my mother really, but she tends to flap so, I think Ron's mother would be of greater help". This is interesting in that it expresses an ideology amongst the middle class which stresses the wife's family. What is, however, important here is that in reality the husband's family had the more functional relationship with the couple due to personal factors. Where the choice presented itself between husband and wife's kin, the preference was usually given to the most practical solution and for the group as a whole this tended to result in an even balance between the two sides of the family.

Women as the focus of kin interaction.

Though little distinction was made in this way, there was an emphasis on the female members of the family. So, while there was no preference for kin of one spouse rather than kin of the other, there was a preference for interaction with female kin. According to Adams, "One important hub of such kin involvement in urban society is the aged or grandparental generation, and the other is the females in the network" (Adams, op.cit. p.130).

When we look at the kin who featured among the five most frequently seen people, we find female kin predominate. Of the ninety five kin mentioned by all the couples (husbands and wives) fifty nine of these kin (i.e. 63%) were women and thirty six men. Thus the majority of the most frequent contacts with kin were with female kin. Not all of these of course were mothers and sisters; daughters, sisters-in-law and cousins were at times included in those seen most often.

There was the case of the middle class wife who told me how "clan-like" her husband's family were, and how much they saw of each other. Her husband, Mr. Rogers, had two brothers, a sister and two sisters-in-law, one of whom was widowed living in or near Edinburgh. Mrs. Rogers, however, saw more of these siblings than her husband and she was the one who was eager to keep the family together and to exchange news of the other members. Most of her family activities were with the sister and sisters-in-law, one of whom was a great friend of hers. She went shopping with this sister-in-law during the week as well as having a weekly

visit with husbands. She and this sister-in-law and the sister, who all lived in Edinburgh, went through to Haddington, Longniddry or Craigleith to visit the other sister-in-law and also their married daughters (i.e. Mr. Rogers' nieces). Here we find the core of a very active kinship network composed of women, most of whose ties with the other members of the network were in fact affinal.

Rosser and Harris (Rosser and Harris, op.cit.) have pointed out the importance of the women's role in the formation of kinship patterns. They extended this to explain a type of kinship structure by the extent of the domesticity of the wife. This particular thesis was not explored in Oxington, but my research does demonstrate the fact that women are the key points of the kinship network and that it is they who are responsible for the maintenance of kinship ties.

Earlier studies such as Young and Willmott's (Young and Willmott, op.cit.) and Bott's (Bott, op.cit.) also showed women as being pivotal figures in a kinship system. But the difference here is that it was mainly their own kin with whom they interacted; it was their own mothers and sisters they saw frequently. In Oxington, however, affines were just as important and it was women on both the wife's and the husband's side who kept up family activities.

To sum up then, the kinship ties which were maintained were those with the family of orientation and procreation, in the former case ties were equally maintained with both the husband's and the



wife's families and interaction between kin tended to focus on women. Except for the slight working class preference for siblings, these characteristics are the same for both social class groups and therefore do suggest kinship patterns, which are uniform for both social class groups.

#### The Function of Kinship Ties.

Most of the discussion of kin has been in terms of contact. Now we must look at the functions of these kin ties. The frequent contact with primary kin suggests that one function is social companionship. Adams has put this rather more strongly by saying "The intergenerational kin of orientation perform several functions on each other's behalf. Foremost is the provision of primary relations including intimate communication and relationship for its own sake, in the midst of the segmental and often economically motivated social contacts of the urban setting". (Adams, op.cit. p.126). Though it is difficult to judge the depth of a relationship from frequency rates, the regular contacts with primary kin in Oxington do suggest that the relationship was considered valuable for itself and the attempt to keep in constant touch suggests an emotional contact. The first function of kin ties then that the data presented suggests is the provision of social companionship. It seems that in Oxington this was true for all the couples in the research set. All of them had some sort of weekly contact, that is either by meeting, correspondence or telephone with at least one kinsman. There is a slight difference between social class groups in the form which this took.

There was only one working class couple which did not include a relative in the five most frequently seen people, whereas seven middle class couples did not. This indicates a slight working class preference for kin for frequent contacts.

Another function of kinship ties is the provision of aid and assistance. The reciprocity of services between the different generations of the extended family has been well documented in studies of traditional working class areas. Colin Bell, (Bell, op.cit.) has more recently shown the help that middle class parents give married sons and daughters indirectly in the form of large gifts.

In respect of the small day-to-day services that Oxington people performed for each other, kin were preferred for helping with domestic tasks; those connected with home decoration and repairs; and for baby sitting. Of the fourteen people who were assisted with tasks connected with the home, ten were helped by kin and four by neighbours.

Two of these four had no kin living near. Seventeen of the couples either asked others to babysit for them or babysat for other people. Ten of these were kin, five neighbours and two work associates. There was a general tendency for the working class to turn to kin and neighbours more for assistance while the middle class sometimes resorted to paid help - for example paid babysitters, gardeners, house-helps.

Table 28.

Patterns of Help

1. Domestic tasks.	10 kin, 4 neighbours (2 of these cases don't have kin living in Edinburgh)
2. Shopping.	15 neighbours, 7 kin, 1 friend, 1 work associate.
3. Babysitting.	10 kin, 5 neighbours, 2 work associates.
4. Taking children to school.	7 neighbours, 3 kin.
5. Minding the house while away.	19 neighbours, 4 kin.
6. Lending.	19 neighbours, 2 kin.
7. Use of phone.	20 neighbours.
8. Odd jobs in the house.	4 neighbours, 4 kin, 1 work associate. 1 associate contact.

Two of these four had no kin living near. Seventeen of the couples either asked others to babysit for them or babysat for other people. Ten of these were kin, five neighbours and two work associates. There was a general tendency for the working class to turn to kin and neighbours more for assistance while the middle class sometimes resorted to paid help - for example paid babysitters, gardeners, home-helps.

Other small day-to-day services were performed by neighbours, but when we look at help on a larger scale as for example help in time of crisis, we find kin playing a very significant role. The couples were asked to whom they would turn for help in an emergency. Two types of crisis were distinguished - one where immediate help was required and the other where the couple would require long-term assistance in the home.

#### Study Class

Immediate help 1 kin, 16 neighbours  
Long-term help 10 kin, 2 neighbours, 1 friend, 4 paid help, 2 none.

#### Working Class

Immediate help 2 kin, 17 neighbours.  
Long-term help 14 kin, 3 neighbours, 1 paid help, 1 none.

#### 20 Stage in the Developmental Cycle of the Family

##### Stage 1

Immediate help 4 neighbours  
Long-term help 4 kin

##### Stage 7

Immediate help 1 kin, 9 neighbours  
Long-term help 7 kin, 1 neighbour, 1 paid help, 1 none.

##### Stage 12

Immediate help 1 kin, 11 neighbours  
Long-term help 5 kin, 4 neighbours, 2 paid help, 1 none.

##### Stage 18

Immediate help 1 kin, 11 neighbours.  
Long-term help 8 kin, 1 friend, 2 paid help, 1 none.



Table 29.

Those Approached in an Emergency

Immediate help	3 kin, 35 neighbours
Long-term help	24 kin, 5 neighbours, 1 friend, 5 paid help, 3 none.

By Social Class.

Middle Class.

Immediate help	1 kin, 18 neighbours
Long-term help	10 kin, 2 neighbours, 1 friend, 4 paid help, 2 none.

Working Class.

Immediate help	2 kin, 17 neighbours.
Long-term help	14 kin, 3 neighbours, 1 paid help, 1 none.

By Stage in the Developmental Cycle of the family.

Stage I

Immediate help	4 neighbours
Long-term help	4 kin

Stage 2.

Immediate help	1 kin, 9 neighbours
Long-term help	7 kin, 1 neighbour, 1 paid help, 1 none.

Stage 3.

Immediate help	1 kin, 11 neighbours
Long-term help	5 kin, 4 neighbours, 2 paid help, 1 none.

Stage 4.

Immediate help	1 kin, 11 neighbours.
Long-term help	8 kin, 1 friend, 2 paid help, 1 none.

In the first case, thirty five out of the thirty eight couples said they would approach neighbours as they were "on the spot" and only three suggested kin. But in the second case, twenty four said they would turn to kin, five to neighbours, one to a friend, five (four of whom were middle class) said they would get paid help and three just could not think of anyone or said they would manage somehow without anyone. This does suggest that where very definite long-term support is needed people turn to kin and that it is in the most critical situations that kin come to the fore. Support in a crisis or time of need would then appear to be an important function of the kinship system.

Though almost two thirds of the couples turned to kin in an emergency, there was a variation according to stage in the developmental cycle. In the first two and the last stages of the cycle, couples turned to kin far more often than other people. In stage 3 however, they turned equally to kin as to others. At this stage the family was reaching a peak in terms of resources. The husband and father was reaching the summit of his career and the family was beginning to feel the economic burden of children less as they left home. In the first two stages the young couple had not the financial resources and in the final stage they might not have the physical resources to support themselves in difficulty. Thus in these stages they were more likely to be dependent on others and look for help from kin. In stage 3 however, where they were more independent they were less likely to turn to kin in a crisis since both of their families of orientation and procreation

would be in more dependent stages of the family cycle, i.e. stage 4 and stage I. In stage 3 they were likely to get paid help or assistance from neighbours who were in a similar stage of family development.

We have seen that in Oxington the functions of kinship ties are to provide social companionship and to provide aid especially in times of crisis. It was also pointed out that the more frequent and regular contacts with kin were with primary kin. This would, therefore, contribute to the debate on whether the extended family in an urban society is a functional unit or not. The term 'extended family' refers to a rather wider grouping than the term primary kin. Rosser and Harris have defined it by saying that the extended family refers "to any persistent kinship grouping of persons related by descent, marriage or adoption, which is wider than the elementary family, in that it characteristically spans three generations, from grandparents to grandchildren" (Rosser and Harris, op.cit.p32). But despite this wider definition, most of the data that has been presented to support the arguments for the extended family as a functional unit (see Rosser and Harris, Bell, Sussman) refers to parents, siblings and children, kin who would be considered primary kin under my earlier definition. The families of orientation and procreation do form a wider grouping than the elementary family and my data shows that the elementary family is not an isolated unit but that the group of primary kin is a functional unit. It would therefore lend support to the argument for the extended family as a functional unit.

Since Talcott Parsons (Parsons, op.cit.) argued that the extended family was not compatible with urban society and that the isolated elementary family was the most functional unit, there has been a reaction by other sociologists ( e.g. Litwak, 1960, Sussman, op.cit. , Rosser and Harris, op.cit) who argue that it is not a question of the extended family no longer being functional but that its functions have changed. Sussman (Sussman, op.cit.) has shown the patterns of aid that exist in American middle class families. Colin Bell (Bell, op.cit.) has shown how economic aid is given by the extended family to its members through gifts. Rosser and Harris (Rosser and Harris, op.cit.) point out two existing functions of the extended family. They suggest it provides social identification and social support in need or crisis. It is this latter function which the data on reciprocal services and help in emergencies emphasise. While it is clear that in Oxington neighbours were usually responsible for aid on a small scale, a real emergency was dealt with by kin. However scattered kin might be, they still provided this vital function. It does seem then that even when primary kin are geographically mobile they not only maintain contact with members but also provide support for each other in times of crisis.

I am suggesting that this is a general function of primary kinship, whether geographically separated or not and whether middle or working class. For some families, however, kin ties may have a more significant role. This will mainly be in cases where primary kin live near each other. To investigate this, we can



take a closer look at the kinship patterns of four families - the Whites (M4) the Wilkins (M4) the Sandersons (W4) and the Warrens (W3) in Oxington. These families have been selected because they all have three adult generations living in Edinburgh, i.e. the married couple of the research set, the parents of one or both spouses and a married daughter of the couple first mentioned.

The Whites (M4) for example had both sets of parents living in Edinburgh and also a married daughter. Mrs. White saw both her daughter and her mother at least three times a week. On Tuesday and Thursday afternoons she collected her daughter and they went into town to shop. Then they went round to visit Mrs. White's mother and spent the rest of the afternoon there. Mrs. White did her mother's shopping and washing for her and might stay there if her mother was ill. The Whites sometimes babysat for their daughter who had an eighteen month old child. Every other Sunday, after church, the daughter and son-in-law had lunch with the Whites and in the afternoon the four of them went round to her mother's house. The alternate Sundays, the White's daughter and son-in-law had lunch with his parents. Mr. White popped in to see his mother every day and his wife went once a week and helped her as she was an invalid. Christmas and New Year were spent with kin. On Christmas day during the time I was interviewing, the Whites had had her mother and father, their daughter and son-in-law, their son and his girlfriend and a friend of his round for the day. New Year's Day was also spent at the White's house, this time Mrs. White's parents, and her sister, brother-in-law,

nephew and his girlfriend all visited them. after church on a

Monday. The Wilkins (M4) had a similar pattern of kinship interaction. Mr. Wilkins' parents lived in the south of England but his wife's parents lived in Edinburgh and so did their married daughter. Mrs. Wilkins saw her mother at least twice a week. On Saturdays the Wilkins alternately visited her parents and Mrs. Wilkins "popped in" during the week to do the shopping for them. They did "everything" for the parents - cleaning, washing etc. When their daughter got married, the grandmother helped with the wedding arrangements. Every Wednesday Mrs. Wilkins and her daughter went for lunch with the grandmother. The other week days, the daughter had lunch with the Wilkins and every Sunday she and her husband spent the day with her parents. The Wilkins did the papering and painting for the young couple when they moved into their first home. Christmas and New Year were again times for family parties. Christmas day, Mrs. Wilkins had hers and on the Christmas day previous to the first interview, Mrs. Wilkins' parents, her daughter and son-in-law and her sister were present. New Year was her sister's family party when the same group, plus her brother-in-law's family went to the sister's house. for weekly meetings with other kin.

The Sandersons (W4) saw their primary kin frequently and they performed similar services for each other but the three generations met together less often. They visited Mrs. Sanderson's parents twice a week and always stayed for a meal. They helped her parents a good deal with decorating the house and the odd electrical jobs. Their daughter they saw once a week on average,

visiting for a meal or sometimes popping in after church on a Sunday. They helped their daughter and son-in-law too with their house when they first moved in.

The Warrens (W3) also had a married daughter living in Edinburgh whom they saw about once a week. These occasions were usually casual visits. Mr. Warren's parents were dead but his wife's mother lived in Edinburgh. Mrs. Warren visited her twice a week for an afternoon, sometimes taking the two daughters who were still at home with her.

These are the only four families in the research set with three generations living in the one town and all show frequent contact between the generations. The type of services that the generations performed for each other were similar - babysitting for the younger couple, help with shopping and strenuous chores for the older. The middle generation at the peak of resources and health provided most of the services while the other two generations received more. Another common feature of these four families is that it was the women who were in the centre of interaction. The mother-daughter-grandmother link was the main one with husbands joining their wives for weekly meetings with other kin.

It so happens that all the married offspring of these couples who lived near were daughters, so that there was no possibility of comparison with married sons. It is however interesting to note that while Mr. White visited his mother more frequently than his wife visited hers, his mother did not see much of her granddaughter and these three generations with him as a

central link, did not meet often.

These examples demonstrate the points made previously by showing the functions of kinship - social companionship and aid. They also exemplify the significance of women in the kinship network and of course the importance of primary kin.

#### Summary.

In Oxington, the main characteristics of the kinship network are: that it is with primary rather than secondary kin that interaction takes place; that both the husband's and the wife's families of orientation are equally important; and that women are generally the focus of interaction. This network will tend to be dense since, by its nature, kin know each other even if they do not see much of each other so that most of the members of the kinship network will have some contact with other members. The functions of kinship ties are the provision of social companionship and assistance. Kinship networks in Oxington can also be considered as supporting evidence for the argument that the extended family is a functional unit.



## CHAPTER 5

### Neighbourhood

In chapter three, I showed how the neighbourhood varies as a source of contacts for the network in the different stages of family development. From the data, the neighbourhood network appeared to be especially significant for those in the second stage.

## CHAPTER 6

It is now necessary to look at the neighbourhood as a specified vector, rather than looking at neighbours from the point of view of the individual. The factors will influence

1. The Neighbourhood of Borrowdale.
2. The Influence of the Developmental Cycle.
3. Duration of Occupation.
4. Physical layout.
5. Social Class.
6. The Working Wife.
7. Morphological Features of Neighbourhood Networks.
8. Content of Neighbourhood Networks.
9. Summary.

First I shall discuss a study of a particular neighbourhood to see what influence interaction patterns in this area. The data from this study will be compared with a housing estate which is a working class area but other research can be quoted to demonstrate similar patterns in other areas. Then I shall examine the more general data on neighbourhood contacts for the whole research set and the conclusions that can be drawn from this.

## CHAPTER 6

### Neighbourhood

In chapter three, I showed how the neighbourhood varies as a source of contacts for the network in the different stages of family development. From the data, the neighbourhood network appeared to be especially significant for those in the second stage.

It is now necessary to look at the neighbourhood as a specified sector, rather than looking at neighbours from the point of view of the conjugal pair. What factors will influence the number of contacts made (i.e. the extent of neighbourliness) in a neighbourhood and how are they formed? Clearly one factor is the stage in the life cycle of the families but what other factors may contribute to greater or less interaction among neighbours?

First I shall discuss a case study of a particular neighbourhood to see what factors influence interaction patterns in this area. The suggested factors are based on the study of a housing estate which I shall call Borrowdale but other research can be quoted to demonstrate similar patterns in other areas. Then I shall examine the more general data on neighbourhood contacts for the whole research set and the conclusions that can be drawn from this.

The Neighbourhood of Borrowdale.

I made a close study of one particular neighbourhood, where some of the members of my research set lived. This housing estate consisted of a crescent of thirty six houses which was built in two stages. The inhabitants of the first half moved in before the estate was completed, so there was a gap in the time of entry of the two groups. The first group of occupants arrived seven years before the time of the research while the rest moved in three years before. Most of the early arrivals had older families who were, at the time of my research on the point of leaving home or had left while the others had young families. The majority of families in the first half of the crescent therefore were in stage three, while most of those in the second half were in stage two.

The estate consisted of private housing and the inhabitants were professional and business men with their families.

The estate was built on a hill just outside the so-called "village of Oxington". This is in fact a smaller part of the ward of Oxington and is called a village because it was originally a village outside Edinburgh and when the city expanded, the ward of Oxington took its name from the old village. Borrowdale was geographically set apart from the village and because of the length of residence and strong ties of those in the village, those in this new estate felt themselves to be socially rather isolated. Other estates were, in fact, built near, the names Borrowdale Crescent, Borrowdale Drive, Borrowdale Road, Borrowdale Avenue,

all signify a network of roads each of which encumpassed a group of houses which was considered a neighbourhood.

Borrowdale Crescent was one of the first roads to be built in this housing estate. The houses were mostly four bedroom houses and though they were similar each house was slightly different from the next. Each had a garden and because the families had not long been in these houses, many of them had not yet had time to build proper fences or grow hedges. Thus in some cases there was very little separating the gardens, a fact which increased neighbourhood interaction in the summer.

Diagramme I shows Borrowdale Crescent and the network patterns there. Diagramme I (a) shows all those in the Crescent who knew each other. Diagrammes I (b) and (c) represent the two coffee mornings.



DIAGRAMME I  
BORROWDALE CRESCENT



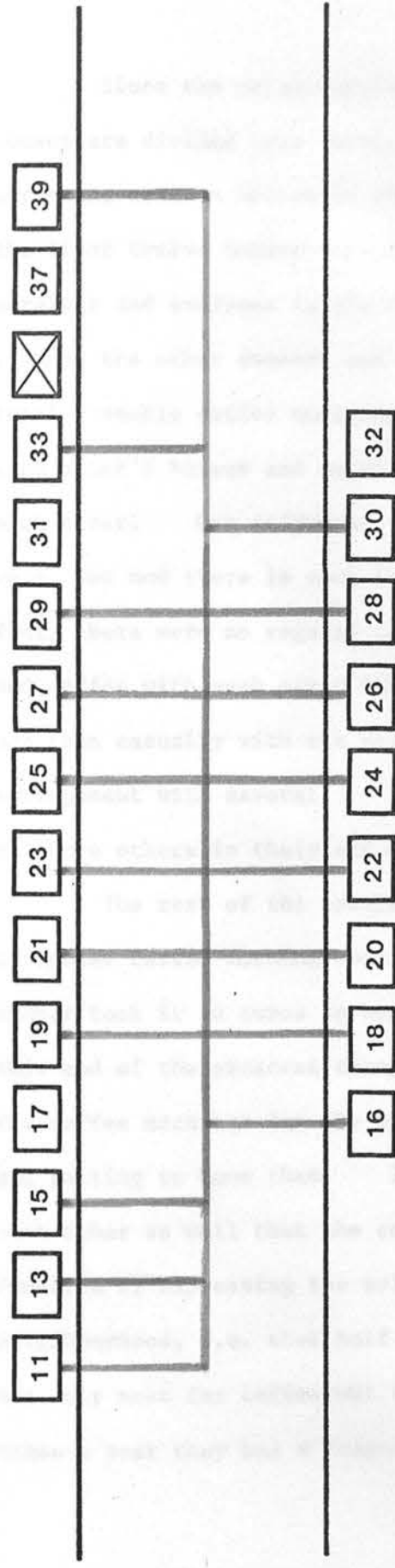


DIAGRAMME 1  
BORROWDALE CRESCENT: (A) NETWORK OF HIGH DENSITY

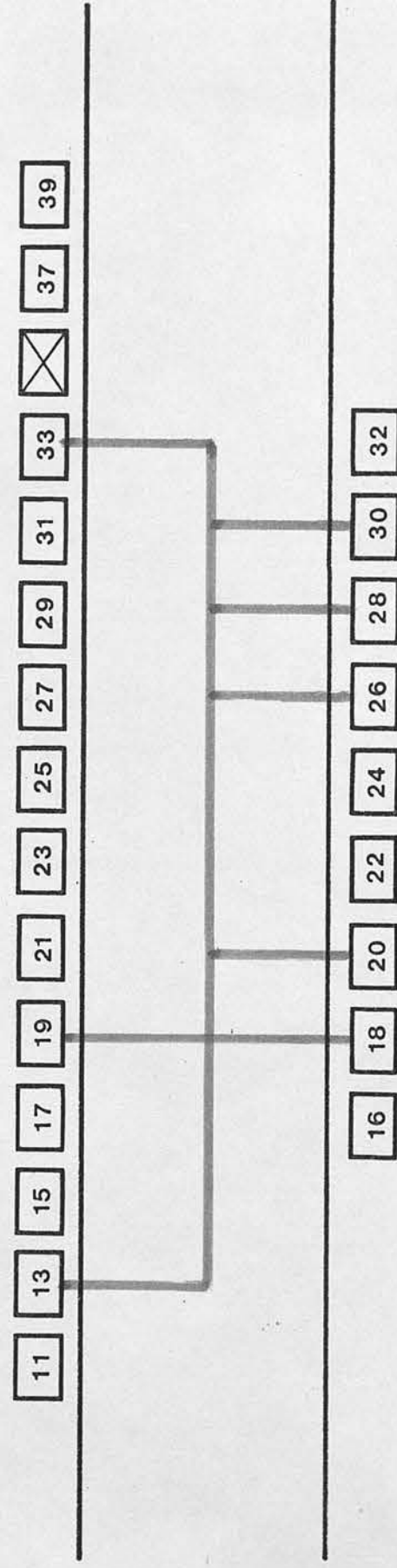


DIAGRAMME 1  
BORROWDALE CRESCENT: (B) LARGE COFFEE MORNING REPRESENTS  
INNER CORE OF (A) ABOVE

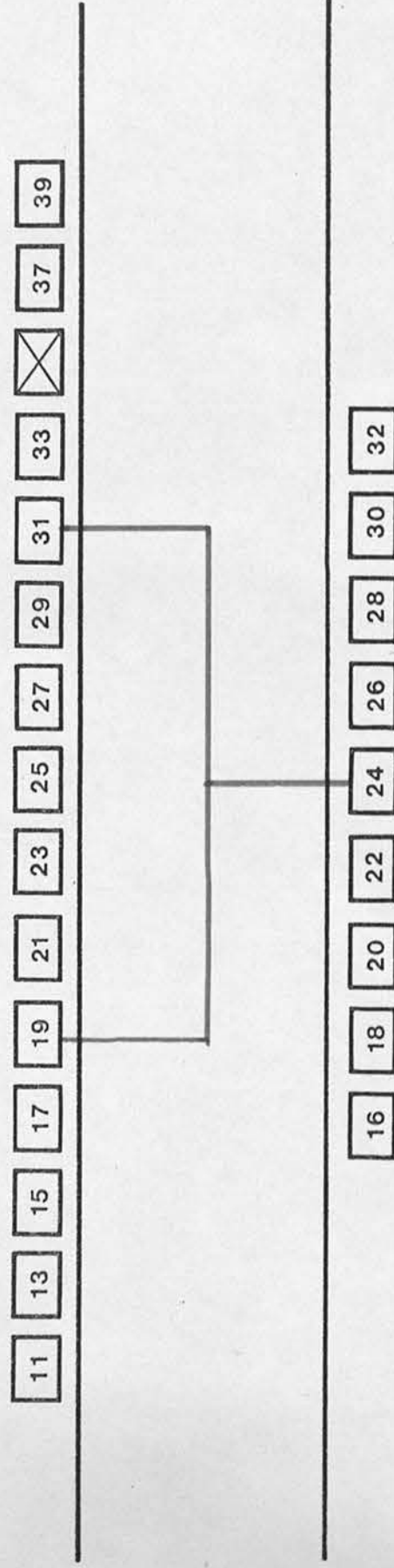


DIAGRAMME 1  
BORROWDALE CRESCENT: (C) SMALL COFFEE MORNING

Since the neighbourhood was a crescent, the thirty six houses are divided into twenty (the odd numbers) on the outside curve and sixteen houses on the inside curve of the road. When the first twelve houses were filled there were numerous coffee mornings and everyone in the new community made an effort to get to know the other members and be friendly. They had their regular weekly coffee mornings, taking it in turns to have it in each other's houses and using this as a way of getting to know each other. One informant said "at first it was open house here, but now there is much less coffeering". At that time, in fact, there were no regular coffee mornings. The wives still had coffee with each other but usually only about twice a week and then casually with one neighbour, rather than a regular arrangement with several. They only went into the homes of two or three others in their end of the crescent.

The rest of the crescent was far more active. There was a regular coffee morning which met every Thursday morning. Each member took it in turns to hold it in her house and when houses at this end of the crescent changed hands, new wives were invited to the coffee mornings for the express purpose of meeting the neighbours and getting to know them. In fact the members by then all knew each other so well that the coffee morning really served the function of expressing the solidarity of their part of the neighbourhood, i.e. that half of the crescent. This group did not only meet for coffee but they also organised drives, and four times a year they had a "communal party". Husbands were of course

invited to this and the neighbours took it in turns to give it, the regular coffee morning goers forming the hard core of the group. At Christmas and New Year too, several couples had "open house" which meant it was open to any neighbours from their end of the crescent. Not all the wives attended the coffee morning. There was a hard core of eight who went regularly, while others came and went according to choice or reasons which determined whether it was possible to attend. For example, when I first started the research, two women had just given up the coffee morning. One had left because she had joined the W.V.S. and had to provide "meals on wheels" on a Thursday morning. Though she could not go to the coffee morning, she and her husband still went to the communal parties. The other woman had left because, as she had told one of the current members, the women vied with each other over dress and new clothes, and the gossip embarrassed her. The others expressed amazement at this, although in fact most of that very coffee morning had been spent gossiping about those in the other half of the crescent. This again reflects the division in the crescent and the function of gossip in expressing solidarity of a group. One of the members informed them that those at the other end of the crescent thought this coffee group met too often and they were surprised it had lasted so long. Another comment that had been uttered by someone at the other end of the crescent was that this end was the "two garage group". These extracts from the gossip exchanged over coffee do show that there was a definite self-awareness of a group and that



part of the identity of this group was associated with the position of the other half of the crescent as an out-group.

As well as the coffee morning, the wives often visited each other for casual coffees and couples visited for a meal in the evening or drinks at Sunday lunchtime. There was an extremely dense network in this neighbourhood. Diag. I, page 186, shows the lay-out of the houses and that nineteen of the couples in these knew each of the others. Of the other five houses, one was empty and one occupied by a couple who were only known by name by the others. Those at the end of the crescent in No. thirty two had more contact with those round the corner in the neighbouring road and the only people they really knew in Borrowdale Crescent were their neighbours in No. thirty. The other two knew about half a dozen in the neighbourhood and had children younger than the others in the area, a factor which might have contributed to their lack of integration.

There was a clear division of interaction patterns between the two parts of the crescent. The boundary was of course only one of weaker interaction not a complete break and there were examples of interaction over it. One of these was a bridge four which included three members from the older half of the crescent and one from the new. This met fortnightly in a house of one of the four. Here, bridge was the overriding *raison d'être* of the meeting and the common interest bound people from both areas.

The other characteristic feature of the two parts of the crescent was the age of their children. The children in the end



of the crescent under discussion were mostly under sixteen, but those in the other end were mostly at an age when they were in the process of leaving home. One of the first people to move into the crescent blamed the separate coffee groupings on the ages of the children. "At first we had numerous coffee mornings but these wore off. Those with younger children started having their own and those with older ones stopped asking them because their young kids made such a mess and a din in the house". Thus, those whose children were leaving or had left home had no coffee morning those with young teenagers had a large regular coffee morning, and rather interestingly there was another small weekly coffee morning in the younger half of the crescent. This only consisted of three wives but their regular Wednesday morning coffee was as institutionalized as that of the larger group. Of these, one woman had a son of four, one had a son of two and the other had three children of five, three and a half, and six months. These children played together and the parents took it in turns to take them to and from nursery school. One of these women did in fact belong to the other coffee group too, but she was the same age as the members of the larger group, (i.e. rather older than the other two in the small group). The different ties of her own age and that of her child bound her to the two groups. Another member of the small group was one of the people mentioned earlier, who did not know everyone in the crescent. In fact, she knew only six of the neighbours. The other wife was not a member of the large coffee group, but knew the other inhabitants of their end of the

crescent. I was told about the Wednesday coffee morning by a member of the Thursday group, who said "they have their own coffee morning because their children are younger". This coffee morning then seems to be based on a contact through the children.

These interaction patterns were clearly influenced by the stage in the developmental cycle. Very often friendships between the children strengthen a neighbourhood tie between parents. Various couples felt this bond happened with them, as one said "both children and nearness have made some neighbours friends". The children speeded up the development of a friendship. For instance the Murrays (M2) with daughters of fifteen and eleven said all their children's friends were in the neighbourhood. Mrs. Murray went to the Thursday coffee morning and knew nineteen of the other couples in that end of the crescent. This included the couple with the son of two as they were next door neighbours. The Murrays considered seven of these neighbours to be friends and in every case except one, the friends had children who were the same age as the Murray girls and who were friendly with them. In all these six cases, the Murrays felt the children had strengthened the friendship tie. Looking at it another way, out of the seven families with children who were friendly with the Murray girls, only one family was not considered friends by the Murrays. Here there was a very definite coincidence of children's friendship patterns with adult cliques.

It is not just the friendship ties between children that bring sets of parents together but also the value of co-operation

in looking after the children. Thus groups were often formed, whose members took it in turns to take the children to school or to babysit. The members of the 'small coffee morning' in Borrowdale each took the small children to the nursery school in turn.

#### The Influence of the Developmental Cycle.

In this case study, one or two factors appear to have encouraged interaction between neighbours. Conclusions can only be made about the significance of the factors for Borrowdale, but it is interesting to see that in some cases other studies show similar findings.

The two main variables in the study - stage in the developmental cycle and social class - must be considered.

In chapter 3, I showed how the neighbourhood was an especially important source of contacts in the second stage of the developmental cycle. In this stage, wives are tied to their homes and their opportunities for making social contacts are limited, so that the neighbourhood is the easiest place to meet people and make friends. The young children of the couples in this stage made friends with other children in the area, thus encouraging neighbourhood contacts. Since the neighbourhood has been shown to be an important area of social interaction for couples in stage 2, one would expect to find more interaction in a neighbourhood where couples are in Stage 2. In Borrowdale there was greater interaction between neighbours in the half of the crescent which contained families mostly in stage 2 than in the other half, where most of the couples were in stage 3 or 4. The importance of

children in influencing social contacts with neighbours can also be seen in the example of the Murrays (M2) and the way the coffee party groups tended to reflect the different age groups of the children.

Logically then, if couples with young children are most likely to recruit neighbours to their network, then we would expect a neighbourhood where most families are in the second stage of the cycle to be an active one, with a good deal of interaction between neighbours.

Another neighbourhood, in which some of the informants lived also demonstrates this point. This is the council estate where the Kanes (W2) lived. The road in which their home was had several inhabitants with young children and there was considerable interaction between these young mothers. However, in the part of the estate that was built first the couples were older and the children were mostly on the point of leaving home or had left. The wives there seemed to be friendly with one or two particular neighbours, but interaction between neighbours as a whole was less.

The importance of children in the formation and strengthening of ties has been demonstrated in other studies. Fellin and Litwak (Fellin and Litwak, 1963) suggest that this role of children is one of the contributing factors to neighbourhood cohesion under conditions of mobility.

Bell (Bell, op.cit.) shows that the developmental cycle may influence friendship cliques. He found among his informants that



friendship cliques were usually either between locals or non-locals, but rarely consisted of both. Most of the locals knew several people in the area, but not in the neighbourhood, and therefore there was not the necessity to make friends with neighbours. The non-locals knew no-one in the area, looked to the neighbourhood as the nearest source of contacts for friends and invariably became involved in cliques with other non-locals in a similar position. But he also says, "The most significant exceptions seemed to be based upon a geographical neighbouring relationship (micro ecology) i.e. sharing a garden fence or on the fact that their children 'no respectors of sociological categories' played together". (Bell, op. cit. p.142). He shows that the friendship bonds between children can lead to friendship ties among parents which supercede other barriers.

Similarity of age was considered an important influence on friendship in Dagenham. (Willmott, op.cit.). But the reason for this was that the elderly living next door to young families may be easily annoyed by young children and this leads to friction. Parents with young children themselves are more likely to put up with noise from the children next door. This is another factor likely to contribute to greater friendliness between neighbours in the same stage.

#### Duration of Occupation.

The case-study of Borrowdale cannot be used to look at the significance of social class, since it is entirely a middle class area and there is no working class comparison. I shall therefore

discuss other factors pertinent to the case study and then consider social class with reference to the research set as a whole.

Another factor which appears to have influenced interaction patterns in Borrowdale is the phasing of the building of the estate. There was much less interaction between those at one end of the crescent and those at the other than between those living within one end of the crescent. This boundary of weaker interaction was reflected in the coffee groupings and the awareness of the couples that their end of the crescent was distinct from the other. This distinction may be explained by Morris and Mogey's (Morris and Mogey, op.cit.) theory of phasing. They have suggested that estates go through different phases. When the houses in an estate are first built, all the inhabitants move in together. They are all new to the area and therefore eager to get to know others and make friends. They know too that the others in "in the same boat". As a result there is a good deal of neighbourhood activity. There are coffee mornings and invitations to tea as they get to know each other. After a while, when the neighbours have all met each other, they become selective, they know who they get on well with and who they do not. As a result the great activity of earlier years settles down to a more moderate pace. Most of the inhabitants have got to know two or three neighbours really well and they see them regularly, while the others get a nod when passing in the street.

In this way Morris and Mogey (Morris and Mogey, op.cit.) describe the development of relationships on an estate associating changes in the amount of interaction between neighbours with the

length of time the estate has existed. The above description could easily apply to Borrowdale. There too we saw how much activity there was between neighbours in the first half of the crescent when it was first built and how this declined with time. Those in the second half had moved in far more recently and this half was still in Morris and Mogey's first stage of extensive neighbourhood interaction, when I was doing my research.

Morris and Mogey's own research and the case-study of Borrowdale are not the only studies which illustrate their suggestions. Bell (Bell, 1968a) shows that this theory of phasing is also borne out among the 'West Side' families. Here, patterns of interaction between those living on the estate had passed through similar stages.

There are two main characteristics of the Borrowdale housing estate which appear to have affected interaction patterns. Firstly there is the stage in the developmental cycle of the families inhabiting the neighbourhood, and secondly there is the length of time the estate had been built. Since these two characteristics exist together, it is difficult to separate out the influence of each. The data, however, on the influence of children on friendship patterns and that on the patterns of neighbourhood activity in the two parts of the crescent when they were first built suggest that both factors are significant. Therefore a recently built estate with families mostly in the second stage of the developmental cycle is more likely to be active and more likely to have a dense network, since greater interaction

between neighbours means they are more likely to know each other.

Physical Layout. Important in shaping interaction patterns.

Another factor which has been suggested as being responsible for encouraging neighbourliness in an area is the physical layout. Festinger, Schacter and Back (Festinger, Schacter and Back, 1959), have shown how important the lay out of a housing area is in influencing patterns of interaction. Whyte (Whyte, 1960) also sees this as the main factor affecting friendship patterns in an American suburb. However, one of the crucial features of both these studies is that both are of homogeneous areas. Whyte says "all other things being equal - and it is amazing how much all other things are equal in suburbia - it would appear that certain kinds of physical layouts can virtually produce the 'happy' group". (Whyte, op.cit. p.321). Festinger, Schacter and Back, who describe the housing community of MIT married veteran engineering students, also suggest that "In a community of people who are homogeneous with respect to many of the factors which determine the development of friendships, the physical factors arising from the arrangement of houses are major determinants of what friendships will develop and what social groupings will be formed" (Festinger, Schacter and Back, op.cit. p.151). It seems that though physical layout of buildings may influence patterns of contact between people of similar age and social group, they are only important because other more important characteristics are the same for everyone and therefore cannot be compared. Where a community is not homogeneous the placing of



buildings is not so significant and then we can pick out the features which are important in shaping interaction patterns.

Colin Bell supports this view and says "After a long period of struggling I abandoned an attempt at a micro-ecological explanation of social relationships on the estate". (Bell, op.cit. p.132). He quotes Festinger, Schacter and Back as saying "if marked differences in background and interest among the residents had existed, these differences might have been so important as to overwhelm and obscure other determinants of group formation and social process". (Bell, op.cit. p.132). He goes on to say "It was just these 'marked differences' particularly of mobility experience that led to the eventual abandonment of micro-ecological analysis on both estates". (Bell, op.cit. p.132). Professor Sprott has also written that "the siting of houses is by no means unimportant, but of greater importance are the attitudes, habits and aspirations of the people who live in them". (Sprott, 1958, p.98).

In Oxington, the other characteristics mentioned are of greater importance and physical layout had little significance. The only exception was the prominence of the 'immediate' neighbour rather than other neighbours. However, this prominence is on the level of contact rather than friendship, that is while most people knew their immediate neighbours, the bonds between immediate neighbours were no closer than those between other neighbours. Out of the thirty three informants whose initial contact when they first moved into the area had been with neighbours, twenty two of these had first met their immediate neighbour. But, as we saw, in

Borrowdale, it was other factors primarily which 'lead to' the formation of ties between neighbours.

One physical feature which does seem to facilitate contact, but in a general way rather than prescribing specific patterns, is the garden. The second round of interviews which were carried out in spring and summer revealed greater neighbourhood activity than in the winter months. Several informants explained how they saw far more of neighbours in the summer months. They would have a break from gardening to chat over the fence, compare notes and give hints. When walking along the road in the evenings or at weekends they would stop to talk to neighbours in their gardens. There was a good deal of co-operation with garden tools and many friendships had been sealed by the loan of a hoe or lawn mower. One couple explained how the neighbours with whom they were most friendly lived at the back of their house, so that the two gardens met at the foot. There was a shed with garden tools which they shared. The garden would appear to favour contacts between next door neighbours, but it also facilitated contacts on a broader scale. While gardening, a man might be interrupted by passing neighbours who might live several houses along. They would stop for a brief talk and in this way the garden acted as a catalyst for general neighbourhood interaction.

Are these neighbourhood characteristics then going to contribute to neighbourhood activity equally for all social class groups? It seems that this is not the case and that class distinctions do in fact occur.

### Social Class.

The early studies of traditional working class communities described dense, highly active communities, which were based on a local area. Neighbourliness was associated with traditional working class life. As mentioned before Klein (Klein, op.cit.) was the first to point out that the main reason for this neighbourliness was the fact that most of the neighbours were also kin. In fact some of the later studies of housing estates have shown that here neighbourliness has not been as extensive as in the older areas. It has been suggested that the increasing home-centredness of the worker and his comparative lack of interaction with neighbours reflects this adoption of middle class values (Zweig, 1952). Klein (Klein, op.cit.) associates cool and distant neighbourhoods with a middle class way of life. She suggests that the mobile career-oriented middle class make friends in different areas and through different types of contacts and do not need the neighbourhood as a source of friendship. Bott's (Bott, op.cit.) five families who had loose-knit networks and were middle class did not think of the neighbourhood as a source of friends.

But more recent studies, which have investigated these factors more closely have revealed a rather different picture.

Bell's (Bell, op.cit.) study of middle class families shows a high rate of interaction among many of the neighbours. He distinguishes between locals and non-locals, showing that it is the latter who are more likely to make friends among the neighbours.

This then is the opposing argument to that of Klein and Bott, since here we find mobility leading to increased neighbourhood interaction rather than less.

Gavron (Gavron, op.cit.) found an even more explicit distinction between middle and working class neighbourhoods. 69% of the middle class sample had some contact with neighbours as compared with 29% of the working class sample.

In Oxington too, the neighbourhood was a more important source of contact for middle class than working class wives. Neighbours provided sixty four of those one hundred and ninety the middle class saw most frequently, as compared with thirty one of the one hundred and ninety the working class saw most frequently. Taking just wives, the middle class named thirty nine neighbours amongst the ninety five they saw most often, while working class wives named twenty three neighbours.



Table 30.

Neighbours included in the most frequently  
seen according to social class and husband/  
wife.

		<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Total</u>
Stage I	Middle Class	-	-	-
	Working Class	2	2	4
Stage 2	Middle Class	7	17	24
	Working Class	-	11	11
Stage 3	Middle Class	6	11	17
	Working Class	2	3	5
Stage 4	Middle Class	12	11	23
	Working Class	4	7	11
		<u>33</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>95</u>

Total no. neighbours named by Middle Class - 64

Total no. neighbours named by Working Class - 31

Total no. neighbours named by Middle Class wives - 39

Total no. neighbours named by Working Class wives - 23

In the stage where neighbours were most important, i.e. stage 2, the middle class saw more of neighbours than the working class - they provided twenty four of those seen most frequently as compared with eleven among the working class.

The neighbourhood of Borrowdale was middle class and we saw the high rate of interaction there especially in the second half of the crescent.

Gavron (Gavron, op.cit.) has suggested reasons for the greater contact among middle class neighbours. Firstly she considers that social intercourse is more important for middle than working class wives, in which case they will look to the easiest source - the neighbourhood. This is supported to some extent by my data. Although the neighbourhood is generally more important for the middle class it is especially so in stage 2. Tables 2, 3, and 6, pages 60, 61, 63, all show that in this stage the neighbourhood is more important for the middle class while in other stages the difference between middle and working class is much smaller. This does seem to suggest that social intercourse is more important for the middle class couple and when ties at home make the neighbourhood the only accessible source they turn to this. When they are not so tied, their demand for social intercourse may be satisfied in other fields.

Another of these suggestions (Gavron, op.cit.) is that the working class are now more home-centred and therefore the neighbourhood is of less importance. This however, does not seem likely since I have previously argued that increasing home-centredness (i.e. as occurs

in stage 2) leads to the very reverse - a dependence on the neighbourhood. No more need be said here to emphasise my argument and therefore to discard Gavron's (Gavron, op.cit.) suggestion as a possible reason.

Another point of Gavron's is that the middle class learn the necessary verbal and social skills for getting to know people and are therefore better equipped to get to know new neighbours. This seems very relevant and I would take this one stage further to say that not only are the middle class more socially equipped but also that they formalise the process of making social contacts between neighbours, whereas the working class do not.

In middle class neighbourhoods in Oxington a 'formal' contact was made with a new neighbour and there was a distinct attempt to introduce them to neighbours and to help them settle in to the new area. By formal here, I mean effort expended for the purpose of introducing oneself to another with the aim of continuing the contact further for social reasons. The use of calling cards may be very rare now but the function of these cards has not disappeared, the means have merely changed. The coffee morning now functions to integrate new members into the neighbourhood. A new neighbour was usually called upon by one of the resident neighbours, an introduction followed and the newly arrived wife was then invited to coffee - either with one or two neighbours or perhaps a larger number. The coffee morning serves the function of bringing the new member into the community in various ways:-

- (1) It provides a channel for meeting the other neighbours

and providing information about the neighbourhood.

(2) It provides a sense of belonging by being included in a group of this sort.

(3) It initiates a set of relationships on the basis of reciprocity.

The new housewife having received an invitation feels an obligation to return the hospitality by extending a reciprocal invitation to her hostess. At the same time she can include other neighbours in the invitation thus initiating a relationship with them. They then feel an obligation to return this invitation and through this system of reciprocity, a newcomer develops a pattern of social relationships among neighbours. As long as reciprocity is continued, social contact must continue and the social relationships be maintained. In the case of the Borrowdale coffee mornings, we saw that the same group went to the coffee morning each time, but reciprocity existed in the actual giving of the coffee morning since each neighbour took it in turns to do so. Mauss' (Mauss, 1954) obligations and their function in initiating and maintaining social relationships are as relevant in Oxington as Melanesia.

The data from Oxington showed this distinct difference in the way the middle and working class made contact with neighbours. Sixteen out of the nineteen middle class informants had been 'formally' invited to meet neighbours when they first came to live in their present home, whereas only three out of the nineteen working class couples had. This suggests that this institutionalised



form of making contacts is very infrequent in working class areas. This is reflected in two of the comments made when this question was asked of working class informants. These were "not done on our social level" and "they're not like that here at all". The middle class negative answers came from the first and last stages of the developmental cycle. It seems likely that "the coffee morning" was not so popular among younger people and that the older couples were no longer interested in making new contacts among neighbours.

The middle class also expressed more of an obligation to make contact with new neighbours. Twelve of them said they felt they should make contact with new neighbours as against five of the working class. The formal initiation of social relationships appears to be more of a middle class habit than working class.

#### The Working Wife.

Another factor to consider in the study of neighbourhood interaction is the working wife. In Oxington most of the working wives were amongst the working class set. The fact that so few Oxington middle class wives were employed might reflect a rather traditional orientation of the Oxington middle class set. By traditional here, I mean an attitude which expresses the necessity for a good wife and mother to remain at home with her family and not to go out to work unless driven by financial necessity. There was a distinct lack of any career motivation among the middle class women in Oxington. These attitudes will be discussed further in chapter 7. Since there was an association between the middle class

non-working wife and neighbourliness, and of the working class working wife and less neighbourhood interaction, it is difficult to distinguish which is the significant factor - class or the working wife. ~~If then mentioned no neighbours at all among the~~

~~people~~ Fellin and Litwak (Fellin and Litwak, op.cit.) have argued that if a wife is working, she may not make as many friends in the neighbourhood. She is away during the day when most coffee mornings and casual visits to neighbours take place. Home chores or outings keep her occupied in the evening. It might also be suggested however, that working wives look to other wives in the neighbourhood for co-operation over shopping and children. They have a greater need for aid which facilitates social relationships. The former argument would seem to apply in Oxington, where neighbours featured far less amongst those seen most often by working wives than the non-working wives. Several wives explained that they did not see much of a certain neighbour because she was out working all day. The work situation too provided companionship which, if at home, she would have sought from neighbours. On one stair in a block of council flats, four wives had a coffee together each week in alternate homes. I was told that this was so they would see something of each other. Since they all lived on one stair two opposite each other on the first floor and two opposite each other on the second, the reason at first appeared difficult to understand. However, all had part-time or full-time jobs and in fact days might go by when they did not meet on returning from work.

On looking at the number of wives in the research set who



Table 31.

Working Wives.

Neighbours among the most frequently seen  
by employed and unemployed wives.

<u>Full-time job .</u>	<u>No. neighbours.</u>	<u>Unemployed</u>	<u>No neighbours.</u>
Currie	0	Kane	2
Wilson	0	Nelson	4
Dee	0	Hicks	3
Lawson	2	Canning	3
Warren	0	Coates	3
Hobson	1	Bailey	2
Sanderson	1	Jackson	3
		Rogers	0
<u>Part-time job</u>		Marshall	3
		Steel	0
Wood	0	Brown	0
Carnegie	0	Scott	4
Dunlop	0	Wilkins	0
McMillen	0	White	0
Simmons	0	Rankin	3
Inman	0	Mitchell	4
Gardner	1	Row	0
Menzies	1	Jenkins	2
McGregor	3	Blake	0
Spencer	0	Cowan	2



One, Mrs. McGregor (M2) did mention three, but she was a wife in stage two who had a part-time job teaching evening classes three evenings a week during the six winter months. The implications here are clear for she had the day free to see as much of neighbours as she wished. The job took up her evenings, which were more likely to have been spent with her husband, than with neighbours. The job was also very much part-time and only took up three evenings a week of her time.

Amongst the remaining wives who did not have jobs were all those, except Mrs. McGregor (M2), who named three or four neighbours amongst the people they saw most often. It is the case that in Britain, wives in stage 2 are less likely to go out to work than in stages 1 and 3 and therefore this supports the earlier findings with regard to the stage in the developmental cycle. (Studies demonstrating this point will be referred to in chapter 7).

#### Morphological features of neighbourhood networks.

From the data the hypothesis might be put forward that the ideal type of a very active neighbourhood with the greatest amount of interaction and neighbourliness would be a fairly new private housing estate inhabited by middle class couples with young families. Where there is greater activity and where the couples know several of their neighbours, the neighbourhood network would be denser, and where there is little interaction among neighbours and few knew each other, the network would be less dense. This suggests a continuum of characteristics with all those which encourage neighbourhood interaction at one end comprising the ideal type of

high density neighbourhood. At the other end would be a set of the opposite characteristics comprising the ideal type of a low density neighbourhood network. If we take examples of couples living in neighbourhoods which exhibit the two polar clusterings of characteristics, we can see that their neighbourhood networks are the ideal types of high density and low density neighbourhood networks.

Any of the Borrowdale couples would of course provide an example of the high density network. The Murrays (M2) lived in the more recently completed end of the crescent and were in the second stage of family development with two schoolgirl daughters. They in fact knew twenty of the twenty three other couples living in their end of the crescent. Nineteen of these knew each other.

The neighbour the Murrays knew, but the others did not, was their immediate neighbour, who had one very small child, and who belonged to the small coffee morning of younger mothers. Thus their network had very high density. The other middle class couples in stage 2 had high density neighbourhood networks but none to the extent of those in Borrowdale. This might have been because none of them were in Morris and Mogey's first phase of housing development. (Morris and Mogey, op.cit.).

To look at the opposite case, we must look at the neighbourhood network of a couple with no children, working class and not being in a new housing estate. The Dees, for example, in the first stage of the cycle would fill these qualifications. In their neighbourhood one of their neighbours knew two of the others, but

this was all. This neighbourhood network was of very low density.

These two ideal types represent the two extremes of a clustering of characteristics. Most neighbourhood networks will be of different degrees of density, according to the clustering of these factors.

#### Content of Neighbourhood Networks.

We have seen the morphological features of the neighbourhood network by looking at the extent of density. What about the content of network links - what is the nature of this and do variations occur? It has already been pointed out that the actual formation of links varies according to class and that the middle class have ritualized the initiation of neighbourhood links. While the initial middle class contacts were of a more formal nature, the working class ones were more instrumental in character. By instrumental, I mean that the initial contact is made for a specific purpose other than social, as for example, calling to ask if some tea or a garden tool might be borrowed. Out of the nineteen working class initial contacts with neighbours, ten were classified as instrumental while none of the middle class were. Sixteen middle class and three working class initial contacts were formal. The remaining contacts, three middle class and six working class were casual in that they involved a chance meeting for no particular purpose, i.e. not utilitarian or social.

This suggests that the content of neighbourhood relationships is likely to be of two kinds - social, that is for companionship, and instrumental, that is to assist each other in some way.

The instrumental nature of contacts is obvious in the small day-to-day services that individuals may perform for each other.

Those most frequently performed by neighbours were the loan of things such as household goods or garden tools; minding the house while the couple were away on holiday; or using a neighbour's telephone. This last service occurred mostly in working class areas, as most middle class houses were equipped with a telephone. Thus twenty of the informants said they might use another's telephone all using that of a neighbour. (Ref. table 28, page 172). Only two of these were middle class couples. Of the twenty one people who ever borrowed at all, nineteen borrowed from neighbours and of the twenty three who asked people to keep an eye on the house while they were away, nineteen asked a neighbour. Another popular service provided by neighbours was helping with shopping or the "messages" as it is called in Scotland. Of the twenty four people who were helped in this way, fifteen were assisted by neighbours. Neighbours also helped when it came to taking the children to and from school. Of the ten couples with children of school age, seven would take it in turns with neighbours to take children to and collect them from school. Five of these were middle class, the other two and the three who were helped in this way by kin were working class. This emphasises the earlier point of children influencing the network contacts and the greater neighbourhood interaction of middle class areas.

It is thus in the routine tasks, the small day-to-day needs, that the neighbours assisted each other. This is the instrumental



aspect of the neighbourhood link.

The neighbourhood was by far the most prominent source of help in an emergency where help was needed fairly quickly. Thirty five out of thirty eight couples said they would approach a neighbour for immediate help in an emergency. (Ref. table 29, page 174). Five of them also said they would ask a neighbour if they needed long-term aid.

The significance of the companionship aspect of neighbourhood ties can be seen in the discussion of coffee mornings. It is not only where formal coffee mornings existed that this applies, but also in the casual popping in for a chat or a cup of tea. In looking at the different stages in the developmental cycle, we saw how important this was in the second stage and while it usually decreased in later stages, the housewife often maintained a hard core of two or three neighbours with whom social interaction took place.

#### Summary.

In this chapter I have discussed certain factors which influence the formation of links in the neighbourhood network. I have attempted to show how the stage in the developmental cycle of the family, duration of occupation, social class and the working wife affected the amount of neighbourliness in an area. It seems that in Oxington physical layout has little influence. It has been suggested that it would be possible to place the degree of density on a continuum according to a clustering of these characteristics. Thus a new housing estate inhabited by middle class couples with

young families would be most likely to have a high density network and an old housing estate inhabited by older working class couples or young working class couples without children would be likely to have a low density network. As well as these morphological features, I have discussed the content of network links. This consists of social companionship and assistance in small day-to-day services.

## CHAPTER 7

1. Work and the Developmental Cycle.
2. Work and social class.
3. Factors affecting density.
4. Working wives.
5. Motives of working wives.
6. Characteristics of work network of wives.
7. Summary.

## CHAPTER 7

### Work

Interaction in the work situation comprises a vast field of study and there is a great deal of literature on the subject. Since this project is looking at the social networks of married couples, a study of the total interaction patterns of the work situations of all the husbands and the working wives would be too large an area to include in my project. In fact such an analysis could comprise a complete study in itself. However an

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In the chapters on kinship and the neighborhood, I have discussed why it is that some types of people become network members. In the discussion of kinship I pointed out that although ego inherits his kin, he still has some choice in which kin he sees and how much he sees of them. It is necessary to keep this element of choice in mind when discussing colleagues. In the work situation, every interaction between colleagues are defined by the exigencies of

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### Work

Patterns of interaction in the work situation comprise a vast field of study and there is a great deal of literature on the subject. Since this project is looking at the social networks of married couples, a study of the total interaction patterns of the work situations of all the husbands and the working wives would be too large an area to include in my project. In fact such an analysis could comprise a complete study in itself. Moreover an account of all the daily interaction with work associates would be outside the scope of my research for two main reasons. Firstly, my project is aimed at studying social networks. An analysis of social networks does not look at interaction patterns which are defined by the work situation, but at the social contacts that are initiated within the work situation and maintained in a social context. Secondly, since this is a study of social networks, it is important to concentrate on people, with whom ego has choice in interacting. In the chapters on kinship and the neighbourhood, I have discussed why it is that some types of people become network members. In the discussion of kinship I pointed out that although ego inherits his kin, he still has some choice in which kin he sees and how much he sees of them. It is necessary to keep this element of choice in mind when discussing colleagues. In the work situation, many interactions between colleagues are defined by the exigencies of



the job. The structure of the occupation dictates that a doctor sees his patients for certain periods of time at certain hours of the day and that an assembly line worker can only talk to the men on either side of him during working hours. These interactions, defined by the work situation and what Homans (Homans op.cit.) calls formal organization, are not of the same social importance to ego as those discussed in previous chapters. What is important about the work situation is that it provides opportunities for meeting people who may or may not become members of the social network. It is of interest in this project to see when and how these work associates become members of the social network.

In order to analyse social contacts with colleagues, members of the research set were asked which work associates they saw outside the work situation. This criterion was used because interaction with a colleague outside work is not defined by the work situation. Ego chooses although certain factors in the work situation such as desire for promotion may influence this, to interact with the colleague. Work has provided the opportunity to meet these people, but by extending these relationships outside the work situation, ego is bringing them into the sphere of his social activities and they become links in his social network.

I shall consider the work situation as a sector in the same way as the neighbourhood and the same aspects examined. What characteristics will lead to greater or less contact between work associates ? How are contacts made in this sector and what factors

affect this ?

First the main factors with which this thesis is concerned, the stage in the developmental cycle and social class, must be considered.

#### Work and the Developmental Cycle.

The work situation of men in Oxington was never a very large source of network members, but reached a peak in the third stage of the developmental cycle. At this stage it provided 28.3% of those the husband saw most often, while in stage one it provided 15%, in stage two, 12% and in stage four, 1.6%, so that although it never provided the bulk of the most frequent contacts, it came nearest to doing so in stage three (Ref. table I, page 59). This is the stage when colleagues feature most among the most frequently seen contacts of husbands.

#### Work and Social Class.

When contacts are extended outside the work situation, they may be organized or casual. By organized, I mean an arranged social meeting with both husband and wife. They may also be with those of the same or different status in the hierarchy. We shall see that there was a difference between the two social class groups in the number of organized contacts and in the amount of interaction with those of different status.

The informants were asked if any work mates had formally invited them to a social occasion outside office hours. Thirteen out of the nineteen middle class husbands replied in the affirmative while only one working class husband did. These formal invitations

were mostly to dinner and extended to both husband and wife. One couple had been invited to drinks to meet other colleagues and their wives. The Hicks (M2) said that one particular colleague had taken great trouble to introduce them to people. Among the middle class, meeting people was organized in this sector in the same way as it was among neighbours. The function of those organized contacts with colleagues was to initiate the integration of the new man into this sector. This was done socially as well as in the work section itself. To do this it was necessary firstly for the wives to meet, for as they would not meet in the work situation, this was the only channel open to them. Secondly, the new man and his wife had to meet his other colleagues and their wives socially.

These private dinner parties and cocktail parties for colleagues and their wives were virtually absent among the working class. The only occasions which couples attended were the staff dances or annual parties. Not all attended these functions, however. The Inmans (W3) said the staff dance "sickened" them, there was so much "crawling" and they hated people "sucking up to their superiors".

The amount of contact between those of equal status and those of different status in the hierarchy of the work situation varied with social class. Among the working class men there was very little contact outside work with those in a higher rank. The one organized social contact was with someone of equal status, and all casual meetings with associates outside the work situation had

been initiated by someone of equal or, as in two cases, lower status. Among the middle class, however, six of the formal invitations came from colleagues of superior status. One of the reasons for the difference may be that the middle class man's superior at work will probably be the same social class as himself while the working class man's is more likely to be of a different social class. It is also a characteristic of the work situation that the middle class work group is likely to be hierarchical with several different levels and few men at each, whereas the working class group - groups of men doing skilled manual or unskilled jobs - is more likely to be composed of equals in terms of the formal ranking of the work situation. It is therefore the middle class man who is more likely to come into contact with superiors as he mixes with them more and especially if he starts on the lowest rungs of the career ladder in the work situation.

But the role of the superior in inviting the new colleague to dinner is also part of the institutionalized process of integrating the new man. As Homans (Homans, op.cit.) has demonstrated, those of higher status tend to initiate interaction with those of lower. It is interesting to see that none of the organized contacts were initiated by someone of lower status.

The amount of casual interaction with work associates was similar for both social class groups. Thirteen out of the nineteen husbands in the working class set and thirteen out of the nineteen in the middle class set saw work associates informally outside the work situation. This casual contact was often in the form of a



drink together after working hours, playing golf or casual home visits.

Where men had no contact with colleagues outside work, they usually gave the reason that they did not wish to mix business and pleasure. This was expressed in different ways, but was by far the main explanation given. This attitude could be found in both social class groups.

The density of this sector of the network was in most cases fairly high. The difference between the averages for the two social class groups is only 10%, with the working class having rather high density. The way density was calculated will be explained later. One must look at other features relating specifically to the work situation for an explanation of density.

#### Factors affecting density.

It is not surprising that the density was high since people who work in the same place or for the same firm are highly likely to come into contact with each other. It must be remembered too that the density figures do not refer to the total working group but only those ego knows well enough to see outside the work situation.

Table 32.

Density of the Work Sector.

	<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Density</u>	<u>Working Class</u>	<u>Density</u>
Stage 1	Wilson	100	Lawson	100
	Currie	60	Dee	100
Stage 2	McGregor	100	Kane	100
	Row	33	Carnegie	100
	Nelson	100	Wood	100
	Hicks	100	Dunlop	71.4
			Canning	16.6
Stage 3	Coates	100	Steel	100
	Jackson	9.5	Brown	66.6
	Rogers	100	Inman	100
	McMillan	100	Gardner	100
	Marshall	100	Warren	100
Stage 4	Scott	100	Hobson	100
	Wilkins	100	Sanderson	100
	White	-	Jenkins	-
	Rankin	100	Blake	100
	Mitchell	12.72	Cowan	-
	Spencer	-	Menzies	-

To look for any factors contributing to density, then, it is necessary to look at the work situations with low density and see how they differ. From this, it appears that the two main factors are:-

- (1) type of work group
- (2) mobility in the job

(1) Where a man is working in a fairly small work group, all the members tend to know each other. A man working on his own, however, comes into contact with people who have no reason to know each other. Mr. Canning (W2) a gardener, is a good example here. The density of his work sector was 16.6%. He worked for individual customers who might or might not employ other gardeners and whose only reason for knowing each other would be extraneous to his work situation. Also, where an individual works in a large office among a large number of people, any of whom he may come into contact with in the course of the day's work, there is less likelihood of work associates knowing each other than where one works in a small group. Mr. Brown's (W3) is a case here. He worked as a telephone engineer in the telecommunications centre in Edinburgh. The density of his work sector was 66.6% - much higher than that of Mr. Canning (W2), but still somewhat below the average. There was a greater likelihood of Mr. Brown's (W3) colleagues meeting than Mr. Canning's (W2) work associates since they work in the same building, but there were so many employed there, that it is not by any means inevitable.

The greater the mobility necessary in an occupation the more likely ego is to come into contact with colleagues, who do not know each other. Mr. Row (M2), for example, who was a manager of a company, travelled around visiting other branches. He saw nothing of his twenty female office staff outside the work situation. On the other hand, he had business colleagues in Glasgow and other parts of Scotland whom he did see outside office hours and with whom he had become friendly enough to visit with his wife. Only a few of these colleagues knew each other with the result that the density of this sector of his network was 33. Other very low densities occurred in the work situations of Mr. Jackson (M3) and Mr. Mitchell (M4).

Mr. Jackson (M3) was in the army and had therefore lived abroad as well as in different parts of England, Wales and Scotland. His present staff he only entertained on special occasions and saw at functions. The Jacksons (M3), however, were very friendly with several other army officers and their wives. One of these friends knew the man in Mr. Jackson's (M3) office whom Mr. Jackson (M3) did see occasionally outside work and another pair of army friends knew each other. Apart from this, there was no contact between them, so the density of this sector was very low.

Mr. Mitchell (M4) was a doctor who worked as a medical officer for the Scottish Home and Health department. He worked in the north of Scotland and did a lot of travelling since he had to visit several isolated areas. His contacts were with other doctors in the area, civil servants in Edinburgh and doctors in the various



professional organizations to which he belonged. He became friendly with a large number of medical people whom he saw in leisure hours, but only a small proportion of these knew each other. Since he met them through moving from one place to another and through the different aspects of his job, many of them had not lived in the same place, did not know each other and thus the density of this work sector was 12.7%.

Where there is mobility within a job and this does not refer to several job changes, just where the job itself requires the individual to be mobile, the density of this sector is likely to be lower.

Different factors then affected different aspects of the work sector of the network. The stage in the developmental cycle influenced the extent to which contacts with work associates proliferated in the network. The way contacts were made and extended into leisure hours varied with social class, the development of social relationships being more organized amongst the middle class. The density of this sector depended on the nature of the occupation - especially the type and size of the work group and the geographic mobility required by the job.

The work situation of the husbands has been dealt with very briefly because any real discussion of the work situation would need to be far too long for this thesis.

#### Working Wives.

The work situation for the working wife in Oxington was very different from that of her husband. It played an extremely

small part in supplying members of the network. To explore the reasons for this and to find out more about the characteristics of this sector, it is necessary to investigate the motives which lead the wives to take paid employment.

Table 33, shows the social class and stage in the developmental cycle of wives with full-time and part-time jobs and those who had no paid employment. It is clear that there is some relation between social class and the working pattern of the wife, and between stage in the developmental cycle and the working pattern of the wife.

Warren	W	3	Steel	W	3
			Green	W	3
<u>Part-time job</u>			Conner	W	3
			Jackson	W	3
Groves	W	2	Bellay	W	3
Wood	W	2	Rogers	W	3
McGregor	W	2	Marshall	W	3
Dunlop	W	2	Jenkins	W	4
Simmons	W	3	Blake	W	4
Imani	W	3	Cowan	W	4
Gardner	W	3	Scott	W	4
Mitchell	W	3	Wilkins	W	4
Morris	W	3	White	W	4
Spencer	W	4	Rankin	W	4
			Mitchell	W	4

Table 33.

Social Class and Stage in Developmental  
Cycle of Working and Non-Working Wives.

<u>Full-time job</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Stage</u>	<u>Unemployed</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Stage.</u>
Lawson	W	1	Kane	W	2
Dee	W	1	Murray	M	2
Wilson	M	1	Row	M	2
Currie	M	1	Canning	W	2
Hobson	W	4	Nelson	M	2
Sanderson	W	4	Hicks	M	2
Warren	W	3	Steel	W	3
			Brown	W	3
<u>Part-time job</u>			Coates	M	3
			Jackson	M	3
Carnegie	W	2	Bailey	M	3
Wood	W	2	Rogers	M	3
McGregor	M	2	Marshall	M	3
Dunlop	W	2	Jenkins	W	4
Simmons	W	3	Blake	W	4
Inman	W	3	Cowan	W	4
Gardner	W	3	Scott	M	4
McMillan	M	3	Wilkins	M	4
Menzies	W	3	White	M	4
Spencer	W	4	Rankin	M	4
			Mitchell	M	4

The most obvious feature of the developmental cycle is that all wives in stage I had a full-time job. None of the wives in stage 2 had a full-time job though some started taking part-time jobs as the children grew older. Two wives in stage 4 and one in 3 had a full-time job, while quite a few in 3 had a part-time job. There was a tendency then to have full-time employment in the early years of marriage, give this up with the birth of children and gradually take up part-time and perhaps later full-time employment as wives got older until old age brought an end to employment.

Most, in fact thirteen out of seventeen of the wives who had a job in this research set, were working class. Of the four middle class wives, two were in stage 1, one in stage 2 had a part-time job which was only three evenings a week during the winter months, and the other in stage 3 had a university education and a part-time job. This pre-ponderance of the working class amongst the working wives is perhaps unusual and may be due to the particular characteristics of the Oxington set. An explanation for this tendency will be offered later in this chapter. Taking these two factors then it seems that in the early years of marriage, the developmental cycle was the most important feature and in this stage, wives of both social groups took full-time employment. After the birth of the first child there seemed to be a divergence, in Oxington, of class patterns. Only two middle class wives had taken a job after this point and one job as indicated was very minimal. More working class wives returned to work, their pattern of employment following the developmental cycle.



The influence of the stage in the cycle on working patterns of wives is fairly clear. Young wives with no family to look after and modern household gadgets have the time to take a job. Today most girls are employed before marriage so that the question of work is usually couched in terms of giving up a job or not, rather than taking up employment. The birth of children makes employment outside the home very difficult and it is not till the children are older or leaving home that mother has the opportunity to return to work.

The wives in stage I displayed a more positive attitude to taking a job than the others. When the wives in the research set were asked whether they would like to have a job if they did not have one, or whether they were glad they did if they were employed, all those in stage I answered in the affirmative. In stages 2 and 3 only half the wives answered in the affirmative, while in stage 4 only a quarter did.

This may reflect the modern attitude to wives working - it may be that it was the younger wives, who would continue to hold these views, who had a positive attitude towards work. One of the young wives however, said that she would rather have a job than sit in the house all day, but she would rather have children than a job. This suggests that she would give up her job when the children started arriving and would probably be reluctant to return to work. The more positive attitude of younger wives might also reflect a greater interest in work before involvement in a family. Once involved in these interests, the incentive to

work may disappear.

The influence of the developmental cycle seems fairly universal and other studies have shown a similar correspondence between the employment of married women and their stage in the family cycle. Pearl Jephcott (Jephcott, 1962), for example in her research in a Bermondsey factory, found that the wives there tended to be those with children of school age. Of the general sample of wives and mothers in Bermondsey, only 25% of those who worked had a child between the ages one to five. Far more mothers with older children, however, worked. 65% of those whose youngest child was aged five to ten worked, 78% of those whose youngest child was eleven to fourteen, and 74% of those with a child of fifteen to twenty years. Jephcott points out the "close correspondence between the child's age and the mother's work situation. Part, not full-time work was much preferred when the child first started school: mothers whose youngest child had reached the secondary school stage showed a greater tendency to work full-time". (Jephcott, op.cit. p.97).

Here is a definite jump in the numbers of mothers employed from those with pre-school to those with school children, and there is a slight increase as the children get older. Since this was a study of factory workers, and most of the women were the wives of skilled manual workers, the sample would be of the same class as the Oxington working class wives. The similar results for similar social groups suggests that the developmental cycle, while still being a limiting factor for the middle class is a more

crucial one for working class wives. The reason for this would lie in the economic aspects - the financial incentives and burdens of a family.

Dahlström (Dahlström, 1967) has seen the developmental cycle as being responsible for the wife's economic incentive to work. He says that the stage in family development will influence both the consumption needs of the family and the household work load of the wife, which both increase with an increasing number of children, and that these two factors affect her incentive to take paid employment.

He distinguishes four phases to which I shall relate the findings in Oxington.

(1) Marriage before the birth of children. In this phase the household work load is low and the financial burden is fairly large as the husband is on a low salary and household formation is an expense. As a result, there is an incentive for the wife to take a job. This corresponds with the feelings of wives who were in stage I in Oxington.

(2) After the children are born, the household work load and financial burden both increase, leading to conflicting incentives between the financial need for an extra income and the lack of time for a job due to an increased work load at home. At this stage in Oxington, it seems that the household work load is the dominant factor so that despite increasing expenses, work in the home prevents the wife taking a job.

(3) This phase is when the children are at school. The household work load decreases and the financial burden increases leading to a greater incentive to work outside the home. Although the domestic work load decreases, the wife still has far more to do in the home than in stage I and it seems that in Oxington, the financial incentive only existed among the working class. As a result some of the working class mothers in this stage took a part time job, while none of the middle class did so. In this stage the middle class husband is rising on the salary scale and may be nearing the peak of his career. As a result this income offsets the increasing consumption needs.

(4) This is the time when the children begin to support themselves. The household work load and the financial burden both decrease leading to conflicting attitudes towards work outside the home. Again at this stage in Oxington, except for one woman, all the wives who returned to work were working class.

It is a little difficult to compare exactly the phases with my stages as there is some overlap. It seems however that the incentives caused by the domestic work load in the different phases were effective in the same way in Oxington, but that the consumption needs only formed an effective influence where incomes were low. Among middle class families the effect of consumption needs was usually fairly small, the household work load being the more important factor.



This suggests a reason for the class differences observed earlier. Where the incentive of the diminished work load in the home is backed by financial incentive and consumption needs, it is highly likely that the wife will work. Where a situation of decreasing work load is not backed by financial need, however, it is likely that the wife will look for some kind of interest to fill her time from other sources. This was indeed what happened among the middle class wives in Oxington.

Not only did more working class wives have paid employment, but they also expressed a more positive attitude towards taking a job. In response to the question mentioned earlier about wishing to take a job, thirteen working class wives out of nineteen answered in the affirmative while only five middle class wives did so. There was therefore amongst the research group, more of an expressed wish to work among the working class than the middle class.

#### Motives of Working Wives.

So far motivation for work has been looked at in terms of opportunities provided by family situation and financial incentives, but what are the motives of the wives themselves?

There were three main reasons expressed for working in Oxington. There is the financial motive, though very few wives in fact mentioned this as their main reason. It may be that they wished to camouflage the financial incentive with another less materialistic one, but I do not think this was the case. For one reason, some of the wives in council houses pointed out that they

only applied for low paying jobs because if they earned any more their rents would be increased. The effort of working could not be entirely compensated for by such a small increase in pay.

The financial incentive, however, clearly played some part in the wives' motives for work. Pearl Jephcott (Jephcott, op.cit.) found one of the motives of the factory workers to be the desire for money to raise the standard of living of the family. It is a fairly common trend that the wife's income is put towards extras which often add to status in the home rather than towards basic necessities.

Another important reason for working that emerged from the research data was the desire for an interest outside the home. Some of the comments of the wives were that a job gave them a broader outlook; it gave them contact with others and with life; it staved off boredom; it was stimulating and prevented one getting in a rut. A very interesting comment was made by Mrs. Canning, (W2) the wife of a gardener. She said she would like a job because with a job she felt she was useful and because housework was not creative. Before her marriage, Mrs. Canning (W2) had been a housemaid and later became a cook. It is interesting to see this idea of wanting to be useful in the outside world in someone who had been employed in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. It is clearly not just a desire of career-oriented middle class women, but is also probably felt by many housewives who are not able to express the view as articulately as those with higher education.

Finally there is the search for companionship and an attempt to combat loneliness. This again was mentioned as one of the motives among the Bermondsey sample (Jephcott, op.cit.) Several of the wives in Oxington mentioned the loneliness of being on one's own in the home, especially when the children grew older and began leaving home. The need for companionship was clearly stated as the reason for taking a job in Oxington. Because of this one might have expected this sector to have been more important as a source of frequent contacts. But it appears that the companionship in the work situation was sufficient and that there was little desire to extend the contacts outside this.

Conspicuous in its absence is the career motive. Women talked of having an outside interest, but this was in terms of having another interest, whatever it might be, beyond the home, not a desire to follow up a specific interest for itself. This appears to be the main reason for the small number of working wives among the middle class. If there had been any career orientation among these women, they would probably have returned to work in the later stages of the cycle. As there was not, the functions fulfilled by the work situation, supplying an outside interest and companionship when the work load at home decreased, could all be fulfilled for the middle class housewife in other ways in Oxington. They were fulfilled by voluntary associations. These provided the wife with companionship and outside interests. They did not of course satisfy a financial need, but as pointed out earlier, this was not so important among the middle class couples. The divergency in

class patterns at this point can be explained by these motivations. As the work load in the home and domestic ties decreased, the wife began to look for company and outside interests elsewhere. If this was underlined by financial interest or by career motivation, then she would probably take paid employment. If however, there was little financial motivation she looked to voluntary associations for an interest and for companionship. The Oxington set were perhaps rather atypical of middle class wives in this lack of job interest though the extent of career orientation among middle class wives may not be as extensive as would appear from Hannah Gavron's (Gavron, op.cit.) sample. The middle class wives in Gavron's (Gavron, op.cit.) sample felt their domestic ties to be a burden and intended to resume work as soon as they could.

The reason for the lack of interest in a job may perhaps be seen by looking at the education of the women in Oxington. Only three of them had had a University education. Two of these were in stage 4 of the developmental cycle, and had given up jobs because of age. The other was in stage 3 and was the one middle class wife in this stage to have a job although this was only part-time. Of the others, six had taken a secretarial course, two had taken a teacher training course and three had taken some sort of technical course. Not many of the wives therefore had acquired skills or higher education which would lead them to want a job for its own sake. Twelve of the wives had left school at fourteen and one at twelve and a half.

The lack of interest in a career or particular occupation is



reflected in the commitment to the domestic role expressed by women of both social groups. Every woman except one in the set agreed that a wife's first concern was her home and family. The exception said her first concern was God. All except one of the wives felt they should be at home when their children got back from school. Thirty four of the wives felt they should be at home when their husbands returned from work. Only one of those who did not agree with this was middle class. When asked about their attitudes to working mothers, there was a very clear expression of the importance of the domestic role as opposed to a job. In answer to the question "Do you think it is right for a mother with children to go out to work?" there were only two unqualified assents out of all the wives; there were fourteen unqualified disagreements. The qualified assents amounted to fourteen and the qualified disagreements to eight. A qualified assent is an answer in the affirmative which is subject to conditions such as the limitation of the age of the children or proper provision for them. A qualified disagreement is a negative answer which is subject to the needs of emergencies. The majority's answers then were on the negative side and there were only two straight answers in the affirmative.

These all suggest an attitude which considers a job very much supplementary to the home-making role of the wife. Many of the middle class wives looked on a job as a form of drudgery and in reply to the question about wanting a job some gave answers to the effect that a woman's place was in the home. As one woman

said when asked if she would like to take a job, "Certainly not. My husband can afford to keep me". The notion of careers and jobs for women is fairly recent, so a greater commitment to the domestic role among older wives is to be expected. As Mrs. Rankin (M4) said, when she had described housework as a "pleasant duty", "Only recently have people thought about whether the wife's place is in the home, we just assumed it was".

It is perhaps because of this lack of career orientation, that work associates were rarely seen outside the work situation. The functions they fulfilled were all satisfied within the environment of work, whereas if the job had been undertaken for an interest in itself or for a career motive, it is likely that the interest would not have been confined by limitations of the work place but would have extended beyond. The contacts initiated through work would have been more significant.

#### Characteristics of Work Networks of wives.

Having seen which women had paid employment outside the home and why, it is necessary to look, as with other sectors, at the way contacts were made and what factors affected this.

Where contacts did extend outside the work situation, they were of a very casual nature. In no case at all were any of the wives formally invited by another member of the work situation. This lack of formal meetings may reflect the fact that work was not so important for the wife as for her husband.

Six of the seventeen wives who had some sort of paid employment never saw their work associates at all outside the work

situation. Five of them only saw one. In one case this was the wife's husband with whom she worked in the shop. Two of the wives only saw one of their work associates because he happened to be a neighbour as well. Another wife saw one of her work associates, because he had been a friend before she moved to Edinburgh and had in fact procured the job for her. The last of these five wives had made a particular friend in the office whom she invited round to her home.

Of the other six wives, two only met their work associates occasionally for a "girls' night out". This usually meant the three or five of them meeting for coffee in one of their homes. The music teacher saw two of the other teachers outside school, but this was very occasionally and she had only once been round to their homes. The secretary had made friends with the other two secretaries in the typing pool and saw them fairly frequently. The laboratory technician had also become good friends with some of her colleagues and once a week two of them and herself would go round to one of their homes for an informal sewing evening. The other wife saw her work associates very infrequently outside the work situation. Moreover, most of the wives worked in a fairly small group. Contacts outside the work situation were almost all with those of equal status in the work situation. The only wife who mentioned meeting a superior in the work situation socially, was Mrs. McMillan (M3). The headmaster of the school she worked for was the friend who had got her the job.

Thus we see that the main characteristics of this sector

for the wives are that:-

1. Contacts outside work were few.
2. These contacts were informal.
3. They were mostly with those of the same sex and there was little visiting between couples.
4. They were with those of equal status in the work situation.

The highest number of colleagues seen outside the work situation occurred in Stage I and this was also the stage where these contacts were most likely to be considered friends, to be seen most often and to be seen individually rather than as a group of colleagues. Since there was rather more commitment to a job in this stage it is perhaps not surprising that this should be so. Again this might have been due to changing attitudes or to the time and opportunity wives had in this stage to develop contacts.

Looking at the density of the different sectors, it is very striking that the density for the wife's work situation was for all of them 100%. This was mostly due to the fact that the density was of so few people. It was of so few because of the policy of only taking into account those with whom the couple chose to interact. Moreover, most of the wives worked in a fairly small group, and when the work group is small, all the members know each other. The type of work too does not bring them into contact with associates outside their own working area. The groups in which they worked were usually composed of three to eleven people. Only two of them worked in a group larger than this - one of these worked in a hairdressers with a staff of twenty one and the other in a shop



with twenty three. In both these cases there was no contact at all with the others outside the hairdresser's or the shop.

Table 34.

Working Wives

Work Group and No. Work Associates of Wives.

<u>Full-time job</u>	<u>Work Group</u>	<u>No. Work Associates</u>	<u>No. seen outside work</u>
Lawson	Lab. Group	10	4
Dee	Secretarial Pool	2	2
Wilson	School	9 (Ladies Staffroom)	2
Currie	Office	7	1
Hobson	School	6	5
Sanderson	Hairdressers	21	0
Warren	Shop	23	0

Part-time job.

Carnegie	Drycleaners	3	3
Wood		0	0
McGregor	Nightschool	1 (teacher) + pupils	1
Dunlop	Shop	5	1
Simmons	Post Office	2	2
Inman	Office	4	0
Gardner		0	0
McMillan	School	7	1
Menzies	Office	2	0
Spencer	Shop	1 (husband)	1

The wife tended to work in a fairly small group, mostly with women and in a group consisting of those of equal status. She rarely saw colleagues outside the work group. There was a very high density in this sector, but it was not a sector in which close friends and lasting relationships were made.

Summary.

In this chapter I have discussed the work sectors of husbands and wives. For husbands, the work sector was the greatest source of network members in the third stage of the developmental cycle of the family. Social class influenced the way social contacts were made since the middle class formalised contacts with work associates outside the work situation more than the working class. For both social classes in the research set, however, density of the work network was high, but it was found that the main factors affecting density were the type of work group and mobility in the job. Whether a wife worked or not was influenced by the stage in the developmental cycle of the family and social class. In Oxington young wives without children in both social classes had jobs. After the birth of the first child they gave up working outside the home. As the children grew up, the working class wives gradually took up paid employment outside the home again, often taking a part-time job first and later a full-time one. As well as financial reasons for the wife taking a job were the desire for an interest outside the home and the search for companionship.

The wife tended to work in a fairly small group, mostly with women and in a group consisting of those of equal status. She rarely saw colleagues outside the work group. There was a very high density in this sector, but it was not a sector in which close friends and lasting relationships were made.

CHAPTER 8

Voluntary Associations

The couples in Orlington belonged to a wide variety of voluntary associations. The term voluntary association is here being used very widely to cover every type of group whose members are bound by a similar interest, whether the group is highly organized or quite informal. The various groups have been classified for this study but this classification still

CHAPTER 8

The Voluntary Associations.

The following

1. The Voluntary Associations.
2. Reasons for Membership.
3. Attendance.
4. Voluntary Associations and Social Networks.
5. Summary.

Specific interest association

Informal private interest group

Business organization

Political

Benefit committee

Former members organization

Social Club

Rotary and Inner Wheel

Pensioners' Association

## CHAPTER 8

### Voluntary Associations

The couples in Oxington belonged to a wide variety of voluntary associations. The term voluntary association is here being used very widely to cover every type of group whose members are bound by a similar interest, whether the group is highly organised or quite informal. The various groups have been classified for this study but this classification still gives a wide range of categories.

#### The Voluntary Associations.

The following categories have been used:-

Church

Church group

'Local' public house

Sports club

Classes

Specific interest association

Informal private interest group

Business organization

Political

Benefit committee

Former members organization

Social Club

Rotary and Inner Wheel

Pensioners' Association



The thirty eight Oxington couples attended twenty eight churches and eight public houses. If we take all the associations, clubs, committees, evening classes and informal groups to which people belong, that is all the categories except the church and the public house, they belonged to ninety seven of these groups.

Church attendance was fairly high among the Oxington informants. Fifty two out of a total seventy six belonged to a church and went to church. Church attendance was very much a joint activity. There were twenty four couples among the church goers, the remaining four being wives who went on their own or with a friend since their husbands never went. The church-goers were to be found more among the older members of the set. In the last two stages of the developmental cycle out of twenty four research couples, only four couples and one man did not belong to a church. Whereas in the first two stages which consist of fourteen couples five couples and three men did not belong. In fact 50% of stage I, 45% of stage 2, 91.7% of stage 3 and 70.8% of stage 4, attended church. Church-going was more prominent among the middle class group. Twenty nine members of the middle class set went to church, compared with twenty three of the working class.

Church organizations, however, seemed to be equally popular among the middle class and working class, nine people of each social class group belonging to these. Most of those who attended, thirteen out of the eighteen, were women and by far the most popular organization was the Women's Guild. Some of the women had been President, Vice-President or on the committee of their guilds and

were very active members. Other church groups included bible study groups and specific societies run by the church. Again these organizations were attended mostly in the third and fourth stages of the developmental cycle. One couple in the first stage still belonged to a church youth club and one women in stage 2 belonged to a church mother's union while her husband also belonged to a church organization. But the others were in the last two stages. This may be partly attributed to the greater church attendance in later years and partly to greater opportunity for associational activities in these stages. The women's guilds were popular with both social class groups.

One area in which there was clear class distinction was regular attendance at a 'local' public house. This only refers to the regular habit of drinking in one particular public house, not to drinking generally outside the home. Of the eight men who did have a 'local' only one was middle class. Traditional patterns of working class men meeting at the 'local', while the middle class drink in a club or at home seemed to be prevalent here. Several of the working class informants referred to the 'pub' as being like a club and said they went along to the local to meet friends. This seemed to be a tradition which was being continued by the younger generation and was not merely a relic of past culture patterns. Most of those who regularly visited a public house were in the earlier stages of the developmental cycle. Six of the eight were in the first two stages, one was in the third and one in the final stage. In the discussion of clique activity in

chapter 3, it was pointed out that in stage I one clique was based on a particular public house where the men in the clique met regularly at least once a week.

Sports clubs were fairly well represented amongst the associations. Cauter and Downham (Cauter and Downham, 1954) found that the middle class tended to participate more in sports, while the working class watched. In Oxington, there was little distinction between class membership of sports clubs. Nine out of the thirty eight members of the middle class and eight out of the thirty eight members of the working class belonged to at least one sports club. Some people joined these clubs as couples, but on the whole this type of membership tended to be individual, each spouse pursuing a particular sporting interest. They were more popular among men than women - eleven of the members were men. Sports clubs were most popular in the first stage as five out of eight of those in this stage belonged to a club, whereas in the second only one in twenty did, in the third, seven in twenty four did and in the final stage four in twenty four did. The high participation rate in stage I may be explained by youth, i.e. the greater physical fitness of young people and the time and opportunities available for the sport. In stage 2 the couples were young but had not the opportunities, while in stage 3 they had the time but age made the most energetic sports less attractive. In the final stage both age and opportunity discouraged the joining of most sports clubs. The sports clubs joined were badminton, golf, curling, bowls and one person belonged to a sailing club. Badminton and

golf tend to be more popular in the early stages and curling and bowls in the later ones.

Only six people attended classes of any sort. Five of these were women; they tended to be in the early stages of the developmental cycle. The classes were generally for improvement in some sort of household skill, for example, floral art and cookery. One woman attended extramural classes on art at the University and another went to keep fit classes.

The specific interest associations were far more popular among the middle class than the working class. Only one member of the working class group belonged to this sort of association while sixteen of the middle class did. The one working class man was Mr. Brown (W3) who belonged to a film club; the others belonged to Drama groups, an Opera club, bridge clubs, a Bach society, a Scottish Country Dancing club and literary societies. It is likely that the middle class were encouraged more as part of the process of socialization to take an interest in specific activities and to pursue these interests. Opera, music, drama and literary societies may all be considered "cultural", an aspect of socialization emphasized more in middle class than working class homes. Twelve of these individual members (i.e. six couples) attended a club jointly which is a higher proportion than amongst members of other clubs and may reflect an emphasis on the sharing of interests by husband and wife that is found in middle class homes.



There were only two people who belonged to what I have called an informal interest group. It was thought necessary to give this a separate category as it was the only informal regular private gathering of people and as such must be distinguished from a public group or informal group which meets in a public place. It does however constitute a genuine group with a regular meeting place and time and a specific purpose. In one case this was a sewing circle and in the other a mahjong league (though the 'league' was a purely private invention). Both the people were women and both working class, but one was in stage I and one in stage 4 of the developmental cycle.

Business organizations were another type of activity dominated by the middle class. Eight middle class men participated in at least one business organization. The three working class men who belonged to a work organization were active members of a trade union. The eleven men considered here all participated in these organizations, they were not just nominal members. Class difference in membership again reflects the greater extension of work into leisure hours by the middle class, which was mentioned in the previous chapters. Belonging to a business organization may be associated with some sort of career motive as membership usually assists career prospects. Not only were most of the members middle class, but they were all male. With the lack of career orientation which existed amongst the Oxington women, it is understandable that none of them participated in any kind of work organization.

Political party membership was fairly limited among the set, three middle class people belonged to the Progressive and three working class people belonged to the Labour party. As the Progressive party only exists in Scotland, a brief explanation of its position is necessary here. In Edinburgh the Progressive party is an independent group at the local election level which tends to have political views corresponding to those of the Conservative party. As a result, until recently and including the period of time when this research took place, the Conservative party did not contest seats in the municipal elections. There was a general acceptance of the Progressive candidate by Conservative supporters in local elections. As a result the members of the Progressive party were Conservative in their political attitudes. Four of these were women and they were all in the second and third stages of the cycle.

Included in the category of Benefit Committees were committees such as the Cancer Research Committee, the Scout Committee and the Girls' Brigade. Six people belonged to these, two of whom were middle class and four were working class, five were women and one was a man.

The 'former members' category refers to Old Girls Associations and to the Glasgow Graduates. One couple belonged to the latter and two women were active members of the former. All were middle class - old school associations being very much a middle class institution and University graduates by definition being middle class.

Though several informants said they joined associations for social reasons, only one of all the groups mentioned was designed specifically for social purposes. This was the Tuesday Night club, which one working class woman in stage 3, Mrs. Warren, belonged to.

There was only one couple who belonged to the Rotary and the Inner Wheel and they were in stage 3.

The Pensioners' Association had only one representative in this set and he was working class and in stage 4.

#### Reasons for Membership.

Why do people join a wide variety of associations? Class, sex and stage in the developmental cycle may influence tendencies to join or not, but what are the immediate reasons for membership? The reasons offered by the Oxington set except those for church membership, could be categorised into four different types. All the reasons given for going to Church were based on religious grounds. With reference to the other categories in this sector, the most popular reason given was to pursue a particular interest. Forty five of the associations were joined for this reason and these were of the nature of sports clubs, drama groups, bridge clubs, floral art classes. Here the informant wanted to continue an old interest, take up a new one or learn a skill which he had not had the opportunity to learn before. The next most popular reason was a social need, though only twenty one associations were joined for this reason. Thus there was quite a big difference between the number of people who joined a club to pursue a specific interest and the number who joined for a social reason. Social reasons

were expressed in terms of wanting to meet people in the area, wanting to widen one's circle or wanting companionship. Many of these associations were women's guilds, six were public houses, one was a political party and one was a specifically social club - the Tuesday Night club. It is interesting to see that those who joined for a social reason were evenly divided between men and women, since eleven women and ten men were members.

Sixteen of the associations had been joined because the informant had been persuaded by a member or personally invited to join. These covered a wide variety of groups, which included organizations such as the Rotary and Inner Wheel, the Marriage Guidance Council and a Committee for Cancer Research as well as other types of associations.

Business organizations were joined for business reasons, except in one case where Mr. Nelson (M2) stated that he joined the Management Group for social reasons, thus leaving twelve business organizations joined for business reasons. No other associations were joined to further business interests, or at least not ostensibly to further business interests.

Finally, eleven associations were joined on the grounds of duty. These were almost all church organizations and mostly women's guilds. The only exceptions were the Girls' Brigade and the Scout committee which some informants joined because their children were involved and they felt they had an obligation to them to join. Several women expressed the view that as a member of the church, it was one's duty to participate in its activities and



join the guild or its other organizations. Ten of those who joined through duty were women.

#### Attendance.

Attendance in these various groups varied with sex, stage in the developmental cycle and social class.

With reference to all the voluntary associations referred to in this chapter, slightly more women than men in Oxington belonged to associations. Forty nine associations were attended by women, forty four by men, thirteen of these being business organizations. Forty were attended jointly by husband and wife, twenty four of which were churches. For the research set as a whole, the difference between male and female membership is too small for any conclusions to be drawn from it. In fact in Oxington, working class men and women tended to belong to the same number of associations, while middle class women belonged to associations rather more than their husbands (ref. table 11, page 91). This contrasts with the results found by Cauter and Downham (Cauter and Downham, op.cit.) in their Study of Derby Voluntary Associations. Their results showed a greater number of male members of voluntary associations than women. This they attributed to restrictions placed on women by the running of a home.

The data showed that more associations were joined in the third stage of the developmental cycle. (ref. table 9, page 66). This supports the theory, suggested in chapter 3, that husbands and wives especially, had more opportunities for activities outside the home in this stage. The next highest number of associations

attended on average was in stage I where young couples can participate in club activities without the restrictions of family ties.

With such a wide variety of voluntary associations, it is difficult to make generalizations. The stage in the developmental cycle clearly provided opportunities for or set limitations on participation. Beyond these limitations it had little influence on the particular association joined except perhaps where age reduced the possibilities of participation in sports. What it did appear to influence is the joint/individual nature of association membership. Couples in the first stage had a much greater tendency to join associations together than in later stages. (ref. table 9, page 66).

In Oxington, club membership proliferated more among the middle class. The nineteen middle class couples attended seventy nine associations, while the nineteen working class couples attended fifty four. Similar results have been found in other studies. Cauter and Downham (Cauter and Downham, op.cit.) found the middle class in Derby joined clubs more than the working class. Floyd Dotson (Dotson, 1951), found little participation in formal organizations among working class families in New Haven. These families tended to belong more to informal cliques of friends and kin rather than voluntary associations.

Suggestions may be made with regard to class patterns in group membership. Dotson's (Dotson, op.cit.) theory of middle class involvement in formal associations and working class involvement

in cliques has been mentioned. He says that there was little participation among the New Haven working class sample in formal voluntary associations. The little participation that existed was in Unions and this was non-active, and in church clubs. These he says are the least organized types of association and he implies that the middle class become involved in more organized groups, while the working class prefer non-organized groups. One might ask, however, whether it is really the amount of organization which is the fundamental feature differentiating the two types of membership; for example, it is debatable whether church groups are the least organized type of society. In Oxington, the guild, which was the most common type of church group, was highly organized. It was run by an elected hierarchy of office bearers and committee members. It had a very definite programme of events and meetings were organized. It would seem that this is just as highly organized as a golf club or drama group.

I would suggest that a more valid distinction could be made along the lines of interest orientation versus lack of specific interest orientation. As the degree to which members join an organization for a specific interest declines, there is an increasing sense of fellowship. Thus organizations based on a particular interest will have few members who joined only for social reasons and those groups which have the least degree of specific interest orientation will be joined mainly for reasons of fellowship. A continuum could be postulated with specific interest societies at

one end and those to promote fellowship of some kind at the other. In my category of groups, the specific interest societies would be at one end, the 'local' at the other. One might argue that attendance at a 'local' is motivated by a very definite interest - drinking. One might, however, drink in different public houses, in clubs, hotels or at home. The reason for going to a public house regularly was the association with others there. Of the eight men who went to a 'local' six gave as a reason the fact that they liked the companionship there or they went to meet friends. If the associations are classified in this way, it can be seen that the middle class participated more in the interest oriented groups and the working class more in the fellowship oriented groups. The specific interest societies and business organizations highly geared to the advancements of an interest with no emphasis on the idea of community spirit had memberships which were very largely middle class. The pub, the informal interest groups and the social club, all groups which were mainly to foster companionship, were almost totally working class.

#### Voluntary Associations and Social Networks.

Having seen something of the nature of association membership and attendance, we must look at the way in which contacts were made through associations and how this sector of the network was built up.

Voluntary Associations clearly provided a channel for meeting people. The church was a case in point. All the twenty three working class members of the set who attended church had met people



through it. But seven of the twenty nine middle class people who attended church had not met anyone through it. This may be interpreted in the light of the hypothesis that the middle class are more interest oriented and the working class more group oriented. All the working class found some sort of companionship through the church while this was not the case for all the middle class. In some cases they were not concerned about the fellowship of church activities, but either wished to, or felt it was their duty to, attend church services.

In both social classes, those who had made contact with others through the church had met them equally through attendance at church services and through associated church functions. The latter consisted of church coffee parties, fetes, sales of work and associations. Most, (nine out of thirteen couples) of those who had met people through associated functions and organizations were in the third stage of the developmental cycle, in other words the stage where most associational activity took place.

The first person met through the church was usually the minister. In some cases it was an elder or a guild member calling on a new inhabitant in the district to see if he would be interested in joining church associations. In most middle class cases, seventeen out of twenty one, this first person they met introduced them to others, but in the majority of working class cases, fifteen out of twenty three, he did not. Again from the research data it would seem that a greater obligation seemed to be felt

in furthering social contacts. A similar proportion of associations

by the middle class than by the working class, to introduce new members of the church to others.

Establishing contacts in a public house was a very informal process. Most of the men went to a 'local' to which they had been going for many years and in an area where several of the others there had been neighbours. In some cases the informant had grown up with those he met at his 'local'. In some cases, however, a public house provided a means of meeting new people and joining a clique. When Mr. McGregor (M2) moved to Edinburgh he visited the nearest public house and after a while became so friendly with the people he met there that at the time of my research he was going there for the companionship. He described the way in which he had met people. He had started talking to another man on his own at the bar and they had got into conversation. When his acquaintance's friends came into the public house, Mr. McGregor (M2) was included in their group. He would then join their group when he came into the pub and they would introduce him to new people. If his group was not there when he went for a drink he would approach one of the new people he had met and join their group. Thus his circle had gradually widened and regular contact had led to the development of friendships. At the time of the research he sometimes invited friends back to his house for supper. Informants said they had met people and made friends through sixty two out of the remaining ninety seven associations mentioned. Thus about 2/3 of these associations were instrumental in furthering social contacts. A similar proportion of associations

joined by the middle class had led to social contacts as that of associations joined by the working class. (Thirty nine of the sixty three middle class associations had led to further social contacts, while twenty three of the thirty four working class had).

The informants were asked how they got to know other members of the group. They were asked whether they got to know them through (a) formal introduction, (b) casually talking (c) carrying out projects together or (d) shared interests. The third was the most popular way as in thirty four out of the sixty two cases, people had met through carrying out projects together. The next most popular reason was the second, sixteen having been met through casual talking. It was clearly joint participation in association activities and the informal contact it provided which brought people together.

A formal introduction was found perhaps slightly more often among the middle class, since five middle class people, compared with one working class person had met people this way. As with neighbours and business associates, the process of making contacts was formalized more among the middle class.

A distinction must be made here between the indirect consequences of social action when a voluntary association provides a means of meeting others and the specific motivation of joining an interest group in order to meet others. As pointed out above, not a large number of associations were joined for the specific purpose of meeting others. But many of the other organizations, although joined for another reason, did act as a source of social contacts as well.

Thus social contacts were made through voluntary associations of various kinds such as clubs, the churches and the pubs. Certain processes of making social contacts may be distinguished, but it is not so easy to find reasons for acquaintances developing into friends, while other contacts remain just acquaintances.

Friendship is discussed more fully in the next chapter and at this point only the comments of informants will be mentioned. They were asked why they thought they had become friendlier with some they had met through voluntary associations than with others.

The answers may be classified in three main groups:-

- a) Similar background
- b) Similar points of view and interests
- c) Similar stage in developmental cycle

Several couples said that a similar background was the main reason why they had become friendlier with some than others. The Browns (W3) said those with whom they had become friends through the church were of a similar background and in the same income group.

Mr. Wood (W2) considered that those he had become friendlier with in the Trade Union and Labour Party were those who held similar points of view. This may be partly due to the nature of the organizations since in these cases, similar or varying points of view are significant factors. Mrs. White (M4) felt that she had made friends in the guild with those who had the same interests.

Finally there were those who felt that having families of the same age was an important factor. Mrs. Brown (W3) felt that family age groups were very important especially for women. She



felt that because wives talked a lot about their families they had a lot in common with other wives who had families of the same age. Others felt that they had become friendly with those in the same stage of the developmental cycle as themselves so that they could participate in activities together with the family in leisure hours. Thus sharing the same stage in the developmental cycle encouraged friendships to develop for two reasons. Firstly it provided a common interest. Secondly it made joint activities more feasible.

These were the three main reasons that the informants themselves felt had encouraged the development of friendships with those they met through voluntary associations.

There were two broad functions which these voluntary associations had for couples in Oxington. In the first place, they provided a means of finding or satisfying an interest. They were a channel by which a specific interest might be pursued or activity undertaken. They might also provide new interests where for example departing children left a gap in the lives of their parents.

Secondly they provided a means of initiating social contacts and developing these into friendships. They were therefore an important source for recruitment to the network. Not only did they provide initial network members but they also provided the means whereby network membership was consolidated.

#### Summary.

In summary then, we have seen that the couples in Oxington belonged to a wide range of voluntary associations which have been classified into fourteen categories. There were certain factors

which affected membership and attendance. In Oxington slightly more women than men belonged to associations. A closer breakdown of these figures, however, shows that while this was the pattern among the middle class group, among the working class couples men and women belonged to a similar number of associations. The higher rate of female membership in the research set as a whole is contrary to the findings of Cauter and Downham (Cauter and Downham, op.cit.) who found more male than female members of associations in Derby.

The extent of association membership also varied according to the stage in the developmental cycle of the family. Those in the third stage had greater opportunities for joining and tended to belong to more associations. Couples in the second stage were limited by family ties and belonged to fewer clubs. The stage in the cycle also influenced the extent to which membership was joint or segregated. Couples in the first stage had a higher rate of joint participation than in other stages. After the birth of the first child, associations were mostly joined individually by husband and wife rather than jointly. This supports the argument in chapter 4 which showed that the general social network is joint in the first stage in Oxington and after the birth of the first child becomes segregated.

There were differences in association membership according to social class. The middle class tended to be "joiners" more than the working class since the former belonged to more voluntary associations. This result is supported by data from the Derby study (Cauter and Downham, op.cit.) and Floyd Dotson's research

(Dotson, op.cit.). It has also been suggested that they tend to join interest-oriented groups, while the working class join fellowship oriented groups.

The data have shown that associations functioned as a channel for making new contacts. These new contacts were generally made through participating together in the group's activities. There was a slightly greater emphasis on the formal processes of making contact and the obligation to introduce new people to others among the middle class than among the working class. When acquaintances developed into friends, the new friend usually shared a similar background or had a family of the same age as ego's.

## CHAPTER 9

### Friendship

Several studies have talked of friends, but few have attempted to analyse the term friendship. It is clearly a difficult term to define because by its nature it is subjective and the concept of friendship varies from person to person. It is therefore difficult to have patterns and types of friendships when the concepts used vary between informants.

#### Definition of Friendship and Friends.

1. Definition of Friendship and Friends.
2. The Initiation of Friendship.
3. Sex and Friendship.
4. Developmental Cycle and Friendship.
5. Social Class and Friendship.
6. Summary.

Berger (Berger, 1958) has pointed out in his study of a working class suburb that "the percentage of those who visit their friends often is extremely low. But the very notion of 'friend' here is problematical" (Berger, op.cit. p.67). He goes on to say that several informants had made many new friends in the neighbourhood, "but precisely how friendly one must be with another in order for him to be thought of as a 'friend' seems to be rather minimal". (Berger, op.cit. p.67). Berger would probably have not considered some of these contacts friends, but his informants felt them to be friends.

If we look at those the informants called a friend, we find a wide range of different types of relationship to compare. In the research and other investigations, some say that they had no friends at all while one trade unionist considered all his union as



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If we look at those the informants called a friend, we find a wide range of different types of relationships to compare. In the research set under investigation, some men said they had no friends at all while one trade unionist considered all his union to

be friends. Thus the researcher is compelled to look at vastly different types of relationships.

If however the researcher defines the term friend he faces numerous problems. Willmott (Willmott, op.cit.) defines 'friendship' in Dagenham as "having friends (who are often neighbours as well) into the home". (Willmott, op.cit. p.65) Here he seems to be very much influenced by a middle class bias. Inviting people into the home is not so much a sign of a close relationship as a cultural trait more prevalent among the middle class. Several of the Oxington working class couples called people who never visited them at home close friends. In some cases they met regularly at a public house or club and a very definite friendship bond had developed. In others women sometimes had close friends at work who never visited them at home, but these friends they said were the ones in whom they confided.

Klein (Klein, op.cit.) saw the difference between middle class and working class concepts of friendship. She says "Friendship is a category of social behaviour which does not fit easily into traditional working class life and hence its definition presents difficulties both to the social investigator and to those whom he questions about it" (Klein, op.cit. p.137).

Thus in discussing friendship, it is important to find out what the term really means to the individual and only in this way can any judgement on the depth of the relationship be made. In Oxington, the informants were asked who their close friends were in an attempt to distinguish those with whom they had the closest

ties. In this way it was the informant's concept of a close friend that was used. By asking just for close friends, the possibility of collecting long lists of all those called friends was ruled out.

To get some notion of what was implied when informants referred to close friends, they were also asked about the concept of friendship and what they felt was important in a friend. When asked to define friendship, the characteristics described fell into two broad categories. On the one hand people emphasised trust and reliability and on the other they looked for companionship. The first aspect was expressed in various ways - a friend is "someone you can completely trust and can rely on at any time" - a friend is "someone who sticks by you no matter what". Mrs. Coates (M3) said a friend was "someone you could turn to in time of need". For Mrs. Gardener (W3), a friend is "someone you can confide in and know your confidence is respected and vice versa". The Warrens (W3) and McGregors (M2) also said that they could approach a friend with their troubles and feel their problems would be treated in confidence. Mrs. Menzies (W4) emphasised this aspect when she said she used to think an old neighbour was a friend, but she realized the neighbour was not really when the latter "let down" Mrs. Menzies badly on one occasion.

Companionship was expressed in terms of phrases such as "someone you can have fun with", "someone you graduate to as good company". Mr. Row (M2) said a friend was someone he liked and whose company he enjoyed. The McMillans (M3) felt that a friend was someone with whom they were on the "same wavelength" and Mrs.

Marshall (M3) said "there are some people you just click with - it does not matter how often you see them or where - you may just sit next to them on a bench and start talking". She then told me how she had met another young mother when they were wheeling their prams in the park and they had become great friends.

Apart from these essential qualities of friendship, the informants had varying conceptions of how friendships developed and what factors influenced this. Friendships were thought to be enhanced the longer they existed. The Hicks (M2) considered one particular couple their greatest friends because they had known them so long and the friendship had lasted over the years. Mr. McGregor (M2) felt that people made friends with "greater fierceness" when they lived in one place all their lives. He himself had moved around a good deal and felt that as a result he had very few friends. He had been friendly with various people but had lost contact with them.

Some of the research set said they felt young people today had a different conception of friendship from them. Mrs. Mitchell (M4) said she felt young people today were far more casual about whom they considered friends and called those they did not know particularly well friends. They all had many friends whereas Mrs. Mitchell (M4) felt a friend was someone very special and as a result she only had a few. With her close friends she never really lost contact, even if she did not see them for a time, their lives were intermingled. She said "a friend is someone who, when you see them, you feel as if you've never left off. Today people call anyone a



friend but for my generation, friendship is something much deeper".

Mr. Nelson (M2) felt that changes in ideas of friendship occurred with increasing age rather than with changing fashions. He said "the idea of a friend changes as you get older. Alistair (his son) calls those at the office and his dancing companions friends, which I wouldn't in his place". The inference is the same as in the previous comments for here again the idea of a friend is more particular for the older person than his child.

The idea that a friend was someone who provided companionship, support and comfort was basic to most of the notions of friendship. These then were the qualities that the informants were considering when they listed their close friends. The following discussion refers to all those noted as being close friends. This does make comparison difficult since some people had no close friends, while others listed several.

Having discussed the meaning of friendship for the people in Oxington, I shall point out the ways in which these close friends were originally met.

#### The Initiation of Friendship.

The couples were asked how they had met these close friends and the results can be seen in table 35.

Table 35.

	<u>Middle Class</u>							<u>Working Class</u>							
	Childhood and Youth	Work	Neighbourhood	Through Children	Kin	Voluntary Associations	Through Others	Childhood and Youth	Work	Neighbourhood	Through Children	Kin	Voluntary Associations	Through Others	Totals.
Stage I.	4	2				4		4	4						18
Stage 2.	1	1	2				1	4	7	4	2	3	3	1	29
Stage 3.	2	6	8		4	4	2	7	4	4		1	3		45
Stage 4.	8	7	1		3	1	2	1	2	13		3	2	2	45
Totals:	15	16	11		7	9	5	16	17	21	2	7	8	3	137

Total for  
both social  
class groups

31 33 32 2 14 17 8

Total number close friendship units = 137

Mr. Spence It is interesting to see that so many were met through work when not so many work associates were seen in leisure hours as people from other sectors of the network. It may be that, while this sector did not provide so many leisure time contacts who were frequently seen, the one or two friends made in this sector were lasting ones. Many neighbours became close friends. Such friends were often made in stage 2 when the wife saw so much of neighbours. Mrs. Mitchell (M4) said the time she made the most friends was when her young family were growing up, and several other wives held similar views. Many close friends were also met when the informants were young. School-friends, childhood friends and college friends featured a good deal among the ranks of close friends. Most of the informants themselves said that their close friendships were made when young. In fact this was stressed so much that it was surprising that more of the actual close friends named were not met in childhood.

Some of the men in the latter stages of the developmental cycle had few friends, and some none at all. Mr. White (M4) was one who said he had no friends. All his old friends and companions were scattered over the globe and he no longer kept in contact with any. "You make closer friends when you're younger". Mr. Hobson (W4) said he had not made a really close friend all the time he had been in Edinburgh and that was the previous twenty five years. Mr. Warren (W3) said he had no real friends, his close friends were those he had made at school and he no longer saw anything of them.

work, neighbours and old childhood friends. Two other characteristics

Mr. Spencer (M4) found that his shop and his garden kept him busy, so that he had no time to see people and had no friends. He had not kept up with his boyhood friends. Mr. Cowan (W4) and Mr. Wilkins (M4) were also men who claimed to have no friends.

Thus, some of the older men in the group very definitely felt that friends were connected with youth and that in later life a man becomes more involved in his interests. This was not the case for the women who, although many had also made their closest friends when they were young, either kept up these friendships or made new ones.

Kin also featured among the close friends, though perhaps not as prominently as one might have expected. Some of the older couples said that their real friends were kin, but stated one or two others whom they considered close friends. All those the Menzies (W4) cited as close friends were kin. They had no real close friends, they had had a wide circle of friends years ago, but it had got much smaller.

Some close friends had been met through voluntary associations and others the informants had met through friends and acquaintances, and sometimes through their children. Several women said they had made a lot of friendships through their children, though in fact only two of the close friends had been met directly through the children. Of course some of those met through the children may have been neighbours and therefore included in that category.

Close friends then in Oxington were mostly colleagues at work, neighbours and old childhood friends. Two other characteristics



of friendship were important in Oxington. Close friends were of the same sex and tended to be personal rather than shared by spouses. Wives named women and married couples and husbands named men and married couples. In no case was someone of the opposite sex mentioned as a close friend unless they were mentioned with their spouse as a couple.

The close friend was also usually the individual friend of one spouse rather than shared by both. This is similar to the findings of Babchuk and Bates (Babchuk and Bates, 1963), who found in their middle class sample of young couples a paucity of close mutual friends shared by husband and wife. In Oxington most of the close friends were felt to be friends of either the husband or the wife, rather than shared. Out of the one hundred and thirty seven friendship units noted by all the couples, thirty nine were shared. I am using the term friendship unit here similarly to Babchuk and Bates (Babchuk and Bates, op.cit.) to refer to either a single person or a married couple. The couple was considered a unit if they were referred to as a couple. By shared I mean a friend whom both husband and wife considered a close friend. It seems that the close friendship was very much a personal tie and while husband and wife might see the close friend together, the real friendship bond was still between two people.

#### Sex and Friendship.

I shall now discuss the influence of three factors on friendship patterns - sex, the stage in the developmental cycle and social class. These factors affect the numbers of close friends

a couple has, interaction with friends and also the sharing of friends by both spouses.

Do men and women vary in their pattern of friendships ? It seems from the Oxington research set that they clearly do. The women in Oxington had far more personal close friends than the men. In the early stages of the developmental cycle both men and women tended to have similar numbers of close friends but in the later stages the men's number of close friends tended to decline, while their wives' remained much the same. Out of one hundred and thirty seven friendship units, thirty nine were shared, thirty four were the husband's and sixty four the wife's.

Table 36.

Close Friendships

	<u>Husband's</u>	<u>Wife's</u>	<u>Joint</u>	<u>Total</u>
Stage I	9	6	3	18
2	12	13	4	29
3	6	22	17	45
4	7	23	15	45
<u>Total:</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>137</u>

One can see, however, that the high number of women's close friends is due mainly to the high numbers in stages 3 and 4.

Mr. Newbolt's classic quotation that "men have friends, women have relatives" (Bott, op.cit. p.68) can be explored here. As we have seen in table 35, page 271, only fourteen of these close friends are kin, two were close friends of the husband, three were shared close friends and the remaining nine were the wife's friends. It does therefore seem that kin feature more among the close friends of the wife than the husband. But this is not to the exclusion of other friends and in fact seems to be in addition. It seems that the women did have kin they considered close friends, but they also had a number of non kin they considered close friends. Every woman interviewed had at least one close friend, though in one or two cases this was a couple whom her husband also considered close friends, while some of the husbands, as we have seen, did not have any close friends.

Women more than men, tended to share confidences with friends. The couples were asked if they discussed personal problems with friends and if so which friends. Most of the men answered in the negative. Those who did not thought that in general they might discuss problems with friends, but found it very difficult to think of specific instances. The women, however, named specific friends in whom they confided, and with whom they discussed personal matters.

Although in Oxington wives had more personal friends, the husband was dominant in establishing joint friendships. Babchuk and Bates (Babchuk and Bates, op.cit.) found that the male had the dominant role in the establishing of friendships of middle

class couples. In their sample the majority of friendship units common to both mates was established by the husband.

In Oxington, too, the majority of the shared close friendships were initiated by the husband. Twenty two of them were initiated by the husband, twelve by the wife and five were met jointly, as couples. The difference, however, is not as great as in the American sample, where of the one hundred and eighteen friendship units common to both mates, the husband had initiated the friendship in sixty nine cases and the wife had done so in twenty three. Twenty one of the thirty nine couples in Babchuk and Bates' (Babchuk and Bates, op.cit.) sample agreed that the husband's influence was greater in establishing friendships enjoyed by both, while only eight felt the wife was dominant in this respect.

It is more likely that the husband's friends would be seen together since, if they came to the home to see him, it is likely that his wife would be there, whereas her friends could visit her during the day when she was on her own. Perhaps the husband's friends were accepted more by his wife than her friends were accepted by him. In chapter 3 we saw how young couples tended to be involved in cliques. These cliques usually had a core of young men who had known each other some time together with their girlfriends and wives. The women were brought into the group by virtue of their attachment to the male members. The clique, however, was composed of both sexes with the women being as active members often as the men. It seems that this was how the shared close friendships, which had



usually been initiated by the husband arose. Babchuk and Bates (Babchuk and Bates, op.cit.) found that close friends were made mostly before marriage and also that the very close friends of the male prior to marriage were more likely to become close mutual friends of the couple after marriage than the close friends of the female. Although in the first stage as a whole, close friends were seen more by husband and wife together, this was because so many of the husband's friends were seen more by both spouses together. Seven out of the nine close friends of husbands were seen jointly, while only two of the six close friends of the wife were seen jointly. The three shared close friends were seen by husband and wife together.

It would seem, then, that the husband's close friends and their wives as they got married became the shared friends of the couple. The wife tended to see her old girlfriends through the day without their husbands. As the husband made new friends through his job, he would invite them home where they met his wife. Gradually a joint friendship developed between two couples. As children were born and grew up, the wife became friendly with her neighbours; they saw each other through the day; and therefore did not often visit each other in the evenings when husbands were present. As the husband got older, he made few new friends, and the wife's continued to be personal rather than shared. In this way the husband had a dominant role in establishing the shared friendships of the conjugal pair. Since so many close friendships were formed when people were young, one might expect the stage in the developmental

cycle to be an important factor here. There were, however, few differences between the stages except for the fact that men in the later stages had fewer friends than men in the earlier stages and fewer friends than women in all the stages. Unfortunately I only asked how they had met their close friends and not in which stage in the cycle they were when they met them.

#### Developmental Cycle and Friendship.

One aspect which does vary with the stage in the developmental cycle is the pattern of interaction with close friends. In the first stage there was more joint than separate interaction with close friends regardless of which spouse's friends they were. But in all the other stages, close friends were seen more by each spouse individually than by the spouses together. This is consistent with the general pattern of greater joint activity with friends before the birth of children than after. Thus whether the close friends were personal or shared, whether they were husband's or wife's, they were seen more by the couple together before than after the birth of children. Again it is the behaviour patterns here which are joint, not the actual possession of the friend.

Middle class couples shared a rather higher proportion of their close friends than did working class couples. Out of the sixty three close friendship units of the middle class couples, twenty five were shared by both spouses. But out of the seventy four close friendship units of the working class, fourteen were shared. The difference was fairly small, but there was a difference in the

Table 37.

Close Friends

Close friends seen jointly and separately.

	<u>Joint</u>	<u>Separate</u>	<u>Totals.</u>
Stage I	12	6	18
2	5	24	29
3	20	25	45
4	22	23	45
	<u>59</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>137</u>

Social Class and Friendship.

Joint and segregated interaction with close friends varied according to the stage in the developmental cycle. But on another level, the actual sharing of friends and the conceptualization of friendship in terms of couples seemed to vary more with class.

Middle class couples shared a rather higher proportion of their close friends than did working class couples. Out of the sixty three close friendship units of the middle class couples, twenty five were shared by both spouses. But out of the seventy four close friendship units of the working class, fourteen were shared. The difference was fairly small, but there was a difference in the

proportion - 39.7% as compared with 18.9% - which does suggest a greater tendency for middle class couples to share their close friends. There was also a similar difference in the extent to which informants named other couples as friends, as distinct from single people or individual husbands and wives. Of the middle class close friendship units, twenty seven were couples while twenty one of the working class were. Again the difference between the numbers was fairly small, but, as a proportion of the total number of close friends, 42.8% of the middle class units were couples as compared with 28.4% of the working class. There appears therefore to be some difference in the extent to which the different class groups considered couples to be friends.

There was a tendency for joint and segregated interaction with close friends to vary with class as well as stage in the developmental cycle. More middle class friends were seen by the spouses together than separately as thirty seven out of the sixty three middle class friends were seen jointly. On the other hand, only twenty two out of the seventy four working class friends were seen by husband and wife together. It would appear that the working class in Oxington saw close friends separately rather than jointly. But if these figures are broken down into the friends seen by them together and by them separately in the different stages of the developmental cycle, the importance of the cycle can be seen.

That we see that in Oxington it was social class which was



Table 38.

Close Friends

Friends seen jointly/separately by social class.

	<u>Middle Class</u>		<u>Working Class</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>Joint</u>	<u>Separate</u>	<u>Joint</u>	<u>Separate</u>	
Stage I	7	3	5	3	18
2	4	1	1	23	29
3	11	15	9	10	45
4	15	7	7	16	45
	<u>37</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>137</u>

For the middle class more friends were seen jointly than separately in stages, I, 2 and 4 but not in stage 3. For the working class, more were seen separately in every stage except the first. Thus, while both social class groups saw friends together more in the first stage, only the middle class did so in stage 2, neither did in stage 3 and again only the middle class did so in stage 4. Stage I was the only stage where couples of both social classes saw friends jointly more than separately.

Thus we see that in Oxington it was social class which was

associated with the sharing of friends and with the tendency to think of friends in terms of couples. Among the middle class there was a greater emphasis on joint friendships and friendships with other couples.

It will be clear from the figures presented in table 38, page 282, that the working class named more close friends than the middle class. This is surprising in view of the literature on friendship which usually attributes more friends to the middle class than the working class. Komorovsky (Komorovsky, op.cit.) thought that kin fulfilled the function of friends for the working class. It must be pointed out here that the middle class couples listed the same number of kin among their close friends as did the working class. The larger number of working class friends cannot therefore be attributed to a high number of kin being called close friends. Gavron (Gavron, op.cit.) says that there is a great difference in the number of friends the middle class wives and the working class wives in her sample had and that the former had far more.

One explanation for the different result here may have been the use of the term close friend and the different ways that this was conceived of by the two groups. There was a greater tendency for the middle class to discriminate between acquaintances and friends and between friends and close friends. The working class informants, however, discriminated far less and it may have been the case that if I had asked for friends, the middle class would have given much longer lists, while the working class would have produced the same

names with a few additions. The tendency for middle class couples to discriminate more was apparent in the greater extent to which working class couples named groups of friends. Thus when asked who their close friends were, they would say "three friends at work". In the same way, some men would refer to three or four close friends at their 'local', and then name the four people they had in mind. Mrs. Blake (W4) informed me that women had kin and individual friends while men had groups of friends. This is an elaboration on Mr. Newbolt's remarks and is an interesting idea (though not really borne out by these data). It does show, however, that she thought of her husband and other men having groups of friends and not discriminating between particular members.

None of the middle class informants, however, ever named groups of friends in this way. They always selected particular names and were very careful about the choice, sometimes arguing with each other as to whether this person was really a close friend. Clearly for them the category of 'close friendship' was an exclusive one which only applied to a few. But for the working class it was more of an inclusive category. If they had a close friend at all they would usually have several since they would include a group of mates at work or at the pub. Mogeys (Klein, op.cit.) comments on friendship are relevant here. According to Klein "Mogey in a private communication suggests that the middle class notion of friendship is an exclusive one, shutting out the rest of the community and that this is the difference between the two definitions" (i.e. middle class and working class definitions). (Klein, op.cit. p.138).

Foro, Young and Box (Foro, Young and Box, 1967) have brought out this aspect of working class friendship when they say that with working class friendships there is a lack of differentiation between friends and self and a minimization of unique behaviour. The working class individual sees groups of people as friends because he is minimizing the difference amongst them and between them and himself. They are of a similar age, sex and status and for example may work together in the same group. The middle class individual, however, is more aware of individual differences. He has a wide range of characteristics to which to refer when choosing a friend and he comes into contact with a wide range of people. Thus he looks for points of similarity and is selective rather than being involved in a group of similar people, all of whom he accepts on equal terms. It is this difference in the nature of friendship between different social classes that I suggest would account for the high number of working class close friends.

Another point which Foro, Young and Box (Foro, Young and Box, op.cit.) made is relevant here. They say that working class friendships grow out of a behavioural rather than a verbal demonstration of a relationship. The working class tend to make friends at a specific time and place with those of similar age, sex and status. "Friendship formation is therefore a one-time activity, or at least one which is seldom repeated". (Foro, Young and Box, op.cit.p.373). They are suggesting that the working class child is limited in his range of contacts and that repetition of interaction within a narrow range leads to the development of friendships.



Festinger, Schachter and Back (Festinger, Schachter and Back, op. cit) have made a similar observation on friendships. They talk of passive contacts leading to friendships. Brief contacts in passing in the same neighbourhood lead to nodding acquaintances, which in turn may lead to speaking relationships and finally friendships. Friendships and group membership in Westgate and Westgate West were determined by passive contacts between neighbours. The inference here is that repetitive interaction leads to friendship in a similar way to the behavioural demonstration described by Foro, Box and Young. The essential point about the two populations discussed is that they are homogeneous. Festinger, Schachter and Back are talking about a homogeneous community of married engineering students and Foro, Young and Box (Foro, Young and Box, op.cit.) about a working class community. Though Foro, Young and Box's article is theoretical, they suggest that working class friendships grow up in a fairly narrow homogeneous community. In a homogeneous community, therefore, one might expect friendships to develop in this way.

As a result of friendships developing in this way, one would expect them to be dependent on the repetition of interaction - the behavioural demonstration. To investigate this, the data on friendship can be examined to see how important frequency of interaction is for a friendship. The data show that frequency of interaction was far more important for the continuation of working class friendships than of middle class friendships.

In Oxington, the close friends of the working class were

seen more often than those of the middle class. Working class close friends were seen, on average for the whole group 17.9 times a month. The middle class close friends were seen on average 10.97 times a month. The close friends of the working class featured more often among the five seen most frequently than the close friends of the middle class. Forty two close friends featured among those named as being seen most often by the working class, while thirty two close friends were among those most frequently seen by the middle class. Thus the working class tended to see their close friends more often.

The comments of the informants implied a difference in the importance of the frequency of contact in maintaining a friendship. One working class wife Mrs. Gardner (W3) said none of her neighbours were friends, except for one. Her husband suggested Mrs. Inman (W3), whereupon Mrs. Gardner said she was not really because she hardly ever saw her now. Mrs. Inman (W3), however, had said earlier in the year to me that Mrs. Gardner was a close friend of hers. Clearly they had seen less of each other since then and Mrs. Gardner felt they did not see enough of each other for the relationship to constitute a friendship.

On the other hand, middle class wives emphasised that frequency of contact was not essential to a friendship. Mrs. McGregor (M2), when saying that their only close friends lived in another town said a "relationship doesn't depend on seeing others".

If frequency of contact is necessary to maintain a friendship, one would expect friendships among the working class to be broken

by movement away from the area and for friendships among the middle class to survive movement away from the area. One way of examining this is to look at the locality of close friends. In fact, twenty eight of the close friends of the middle class (i.e. 45.8%) lived outside Edinburgh, while only nine (i.e. 12.1%) of the close friends of the working class lived outside Edinburgh. The middle class in this research set had lived in a greater number of places, so they had greater opportunity to meet people in other places. But then it must be remembered that even if many working class informants had lived in Edinburgh all their lives, several had had friends here who had moved away.

Several told me of old friends with whom they had lost contact because the friends had moved away. Mrs. Dee (W1) told me that her schoolfriend Eileen used to be her closest friend, but then she moved away and Mrs. Dee (W1) "took up with Margaret" who was at the time of my research her closest friend. It was clear from this that to be a close friend one had to be seen frequently. Her husband made an interesting remark when he said he would call Ian his closest friend, although this man and his wife stayed in Ayr. There was the implication that Ian should not really be a close friend since he lived in another town. Ian had very recently moved and it might have been that after a while the friendship wained. Mrs. Dunlop (W2) said their old neighbours the Browns had been close friends until they moved away.

Middle class informants emphasised the fact that having close friends in other parts of the country did not affect the

relationship. The McMillans (M3) had lived in five different places since they were married and Mrs. McMillan (M3) had close friends in each place. She kept in touch with them all at Christmas and they visited them when they travelled round the country. Mrs. Mitchell's (M4) closest friends were two schoolfriends who lived in Glasgow and whom she did not see often but to whom she felt very close. The Mitchells (M4) also had close friends in the south of England, whom they only saw once in two years, but whom they still considered close friends.

Frequency of interaction would seem therefore more important for maintaining a working class friendship than middle class. This exemplifies Foro, Young and Box's (Foro, Young and Box, op.cit.) theory that working class friendships are based on behavioural rather than verbal demonstrations.

#### Summary.

In summary then, friends in Oxington were considered firstly as people to whom one could turn in times of trouble and in whom one could confide, and secondly as people whose company one enjoyed. Friendship fulfilled the two functions of aid and companionship. The friend was someone one could rely on for support and the friend was a source of companionship.

Close friends were usually personal and always of the same sex. They were met mostly through work, in childhood and in the neighbourhood. Women tended to have more close friends than men, and to confide more in these. Men, however, were dominant in establishing joint friendships for the couple.



The stage in the developmental cycle influenced participation with close friends, with young married couples seeing more of friends together than couples in later stages of the cycle. Older men had few close friends, though it seemed that age and family stage had little affect on the number of close friends a woman had.

While stage in the developmental cycle affected interaction with friends, social class influenced perceptions of friendship and attitudes towards friends. More close friends of the middle class were shared by husband and wife than those of the working class group and the middle class considered themselves close friends with couples more than did the working class. The middle class tended to be more selective about close friends, although the working class often interacted more with groups of friends. Frequent contact was seen as an essential part of friendship by working class informants, while middle class couples emphasised a close tie which could exist despite the separation of friends. Working class friendship was based on a behavioural demonstration of a relationship, middle class on a verbal one.

## CHAPTER 10

### Conclusion

Before summing up the data discussed in the previous chapters, an idea which was put forward in the first chapter, though not in the form of a hypothesis, must be examined further. In chapter 1, I mentioned the difficulties of discussing density of the whole of a country's network. I suggested that social networks tended generally to be of low density with high density areas and that it was sectors which were responsible for these high density areas. We can now look at the density of the different sectors and see if this is the case.

### CHAPTER 10

### Conclusion.

Before introducing these data, I shall develop the argument introduced in the first chapter a little further. I suggested there that to use the term sector to explain higher density areas in a generally low density network. This argument can be supported by looking at previous literature and attempting to explain certain findings in terms of sectors. It seems too that some of the discrepancies in the studies which attempted to explain Rott's results may be explained by their attempt to assess the density of the whole network. It is true that some of the traditional community studies revealed high density networks, but I think this may also be explained in terms of sectors.

## CHAPTER 10

### Conclusion

Before summing up the data discussed in the previous chapters, an idea which was put forward in the first chapter, though not in the form of a hypothesis, must be examined further. In chapter I, I mentioned the difficulties of discussing density of the whole of a couple's network. I suggested that social networks tended generally to be of low density with high density areas and that it was sectors which were responsible for these high density areas. We can now look at the density of the different sectors and of the interaction networks of the informants in Oxington to see if this is the case.

Before introducing these data, I shall develop the argument introduced in the first chapter a little further. I suggested there that we use the term sector to explain higher density areas in a generally low density network. This argument can be supported by looking at previous literature and attempting to explain certain findings in terms of sectors. It seems too that some of the discrepancies in the studies which attempted to examine Bott's thesis may be explained by their attempt to assess the density of the whole network. It is true that some of the traditional community studies revealed high density networks, but I think this may also be explained in terms of sectors.

In traditional working class areas, such as Bethnal Green (Young and Willmott, 1959) there tends to be an overlap of the different sectors of the network. These various sectors converge on the same people. In Bethnal Green, kin, neighbours and work associates are all the same people. It is as if the different sectors were superimposed on each other producing a whole network of high density. Moreover in many cases, one of these networks is kinship. Kinship by its nature tends to be a sector of higher density. In Boissevain's words, "where kinship links are more numerous as compared with economic ones for example, there is likely to be greater connectedness". (Boissevain, op.cit. p.547). Klein's analysis of the extent of neighbourliness in Bethnal Green is relevant here. (Klein, op.cit.). She points out that the extensive neighbourliness there was due to the fact that most of the neighbours were kin. It is because most people interact with kin and their network consists mostly of kin that there is a lot of activity and people know each other.

As these families become more mobile and as they move into new working environments, their networks take on the characteristics of the middle class network, the sectors become separate and the density of the network decreases. Here there are more sectors and less interaction between members of different sectors. As Susser and Watson have said of the middle class, "They work with one set, play golf with another, entertain another and live beside yet another". (Susser and Watson, 1962, p.142).

The literature then has shown how limited and overlapping



sectors have brought about high density networks. If however, we look at some more recent studies, we can see that they show, though not specifically in these terms, how most networks tend to be of lower density than those in Bethnal Green with some high density areas. Bott's (Bott, op.cit.) own material reveals the general low density nature of the majority of the networks.

Attempts to examine her thesis more closely are also interesting in this light. Two of these studies showed that Bott's thesis was applicable only in lower class groups, but is not really relevant for middle class couples. Udry and Hall, (Udry and Hall, 1965) in their study of parents of students, found some tendency for husbands who were most involved in a high density network to have a medium conjugal role segregation pattern but they conclude in general - "Bott's original hypothesis is applicable only to lower class couples". (Udry and Hall, op.cit. p.395). Nelson (Nelson, 1966) too, using a sample of one hundred and thirty one working class wives, supported Bott's thesis. It can be suggested that the reason why her thesis is applicable only in lower class groups is that in respect of middle class groups the notion of general density for a whole network becomes meaningless. Most middle class couples have the type of network mentioned earlier, so that one can scarcely distinguish between high and low density networks, most of the networks being of fairly low density.

The findings of Aldous and Strauss (Aldous and Strauss, 1965-66) disprove Bott, but they say they have failed to give the theory adequate testing because most of the sample's networks were near to

the low density end of the pole. Their comments are however of interest - "We believe, however, that our sample is likely to prove fairly representative as to the kinds of social networks existing in industrial societies. The person in a close-knit network is fairly uncommon we suspect, as compared with persons in loose-knit networks". (Aldous and Strauss, op.cit. p.580). It is of interest to see that the range of densities of the different networks in Aldous and Strauss' study is fairly small. There was not very much difference in the density of the networks of all the wives. It is of little value to distinguish between high and low density because there was so little difference between the densities of their networks in this middle class sample.

Turner, (Turner, 1967) though he did not set out to examine Bott's (Bott, op.cit.) hypothesis, has used the data from his Leadgill research to examine her ideas. He found that the variable which was related closely to network density was geographic mobility. Bott herself suggested this and I have discussed the relationship between geographical mobility and network density in chapter I. There I suggested that the low density networks of middle class couples could often be attributed to mobility. I suggested too in chapter 4, that geographic mobility might also be responsible for differences in network size. One of Turner's (Turner, op.cit.) main conclusions is that the Bott hypothesis has not yet been properly tested, though he does not elucidate more fully on this.

One of the reasons why two of the previous studies (Udry and Hall's and Aldous and Strauss'), which set out to examine Bott's

ideas, did not in my opinion do this adequately is that they did not examine network density properly. In these two cases, informants were asked to name either the eight or the four people whom they saw most frequently. The density of the network of the eight or four people most frequently seen was then calculated. When Bott talks of networks, however, she surely means more than the four or eight friends of the couple. By taking the few people seen most frequently, the researchers have intended one of two things -

1. This is what is meant by a couple's social network.
2. The density of this small network is a good indicator of the total density of the network.

It cannot be supposed that a couple in an urban environment have a network of four or eight people and clearly this is not what Bott described. If, however, these few are supposed to represent the whole network it would seem to me a very dubious indicator.

The validity of using the most frequently seen network members as an indicator was tested by comparing the density of the extended networks of the couples in the Edinburgh research set with the density of the five most frequently seen people. The data on density only refers to thirty five out of the thirty eight families, because I was unable to get sufficient information from the other three families. The Murrays and the Simmons pleaded ignorance of which of their friends knew other friends and the Baileys had such a large network that they had neither the time nor the inclination to give me all the necessary data. The extended network will be defined

a little later in the chapter, but these networks consisted of an average of 35.54 members and ranged from twenty to fifty three members. Each husband and wife was asked individually who were the five people each saw most often - making a total of ten people for each couple if all the people they named were different. The extent to which these ten people knew each other was then estimated and the density among them (the way this was calculated will be mentioned later) compared with that of the density of the extended network. In both cases the couples were divided in terciles of groups of high, medium and low density. It can be seen that there was little correspondence between these two groups and high density of the most frequently seen network did not necessarily mean high density of the extended network.

Table 39.

		No. of couples with stated Density of Extended Network.			
		Low.	Medium.	High.	Totals.
<u>No. of couples</u> <u>with stated density</u> <u>of most frequently</u> <u>seen networks.</u>	Low	4	6	2	12
	Medium	4	2	6	12
	High	4	4	3	11
	Totals:	12	12	11	35

This therefore suggests that the density of the ten most frequently seen members of the network is not necessarily a good indicator of the density of a wider network of thirty five people.



Christopher Turner (Turner, op.cit.) has tried to cover a more general and wider network, but even so the largest network in his study only contains twelve households. It must be remembered, however, that his research was carried out in a rural area and it is likely that variations in urban and rural networks occur.

Although I have divided the network densities into high, medium and low, for the purposes of comparison with the densities of the most frequently seen, I wish to show now that in fact the extended networks of all the Oxington research set can be considered of low density. Those called high in the previous comparison had high density only in relation to the others since they were the third with the highest density scores. When we compare these with network densities recorded in other research projects, we shall see that even these are low, but with high density sectors.

To calculate the density of sectors and networks, it is first necessary to define who is to be included in the network. Social networks are taken to be made up of social contacts and in deciding what a social contact is, an attempt was made to include two dimensions of a relationship - frequency of contact and emotional content. A network member is therefore defined as anyone with whom ego has social contact once a month or with whom ego has an affective relationship. By affective is meant either a kinsman or someone considered a friend.

These two aspects of a contact were also used to define a network member by Christopher Turner (Turner, op.cit.), though he took fortnightly contact instead of monthly. He says "Members

of a focal individual's network were defined as persons (1) to whom the focal individual was bound by positive affectional ties (i.e. kinfolk and friends) and (2) with whom the focal individual had regular social contact, in this instance regular is defined as at least once per fortnight on average throughout the year" (Turner, op.cit. p.123).

Network members defined in this way make up the extended network, the density of which can be calculated for the thirty five couples.

Each social relationship included is symmetric since ego and the network member both know each other and there is no measure of the direction of the flow of communication. The network matrices of these data, therefore, are undirected.

With regard to density, I went through each informant's list of network members with him and asked which other network members knew each person on the list. This is not the most reliable way to get data on density, but it is almost the only possible way for a researcher with limited time and resources and anything more than a very small number to deal with. Bott (Bott, op.cit.) of course used this method and also Aldous and Strauss (Aldous and Strauss, op.cit.) when assessing density. Ideally each member of the network should be contacted and asked if he knows the other members, but with extended networks ranging from twenty to fifty three members, this would be a very difficult task.

These data were then transferred to a matrix and network density calculated in the following way.

In every case where one network member knew another a point was put in the corresponding square of the matrix. The number of points in each matrix were added up and then considered as a proportion of the total number of squares in the matrix, i.e. as a proportion of the number of points that would exist if all the network members knew each other. This proportion was then expressed as a percentage. If we take for example, the Hobsons' network, we see that there are one hundred and thirty cases of a network member knowing another network member. The total number of possible links in the network is  $\frac{n(n-1)}{2}$  where  $n$  = the number of network members. In the Hobsons case there are thirty six network members. Therefore the total number of possible links is  $\frac{36(36-1)}{2} = 630$ . There are one hundred and thirty cases of a network member knowing another out of a possible six hundred and thirty. As a percentage  $\frac{130}{630}$  is 20.6. Therefore the Hobsons have a network density of 20.6%. Both the density of the extended network and that of the individual sectors were worked out. I used as a criterion for extent of density the one that Christopher Turner used. He says "A loose knit network is characterized by the existence of interconnecting linkages between less than one third of the non-focal households in a particular network. The equivalent proportions of interconnecting linkages for a medium knit network is between one-third and two-thirds, and for a close knit network more than two-thirds". (Turner, op.cit. p.123). A similar concept of network density is used by Aldous and Strauss.

op.cit.) and Udry and Hall (Udry and Hall, op.cit.) and therefore

They say, "Though the criterion of connectedness was not a stringent one - the women only had to "know" each other - the average score was just 2.3. Such a score indicated that on the average each of the eight closest associates named by the respondents knew only about two of the other women listed. Despite the low network closure scores, ..." (Aldous and Strauss op.cit. p.578). The women in Aldous and Strauss' sample therefore knew on average just under a third of the other women in the network and Aldous and Strauss considered this a low density network.

If we take the highest density network of the Oxington research set, that of the Dees, we see it has a score of 22.5. The non-focal links in the network were added and divided by the number of network members. Thus, the average network member knew 5.16 other network members. Since the network consisted of twenty four people, this represents less than a third. Thus the network with the highest density in the Oxington research set fell into the category of low density networks. One problem with calculating measures of network density is that the potential number of interconnecting linkages increases at a much faster rate than the number of people in the network. The number of network members is therefore an important factor to take into consideration. The networks I am considering are rather larger than those discussed by Christopher Turner (Turner, op.cit.), Aldous and Strauss (Aldous and Strauss op.cit.) and Udry and Hall (Udry and Hall, op.cit.) and therefore



there will be a greater tendency for the number of existing linkages to form a smaller proportion of the total possible number in my networks than in theirs. However, we still find that using the criterion of high/low density mentioned above, these networks fall well into the category of low density.

With this cross-section of couples from different stages in the developmental cycle and from different social class groups, the density of all the extended networks can be considered low.

The range of densities varied from 8.55 to 22.5. This was not a very great amount and suggests that the variation in density was not very high despite the different types of families involved. The average rate of density for all the families was 16.76, which is low.

McMillan	9.25	Gardner	16.1
Marshall	18.6	Warren	21.1
Scott	16.45	Rotam	20.5
Wilkins	14.6	Sanderson	17.6
White	20.5	Jenkins	13.8
Rankin	9.3	Blair	19.3
Mitchell	8.55	Green	13.1
Spencer	15.0	Marjor	21.5

#### Average Network Densities

Middle Class - 15.67

Working Class - 17.66

Table 40.

Network Density

<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Density</u>	<u>Working Class</u>	<u>Density</u>
Wilson	18.37	Lawson	19.6
Currie	14.68	Dee	22.5
McGregor	18.6	Kane	20.9
Row	20.75	Carnegie	15.22
Nelson	14.75	Wood	20.2
Hicks	10.4	Dunlop	14.75
		Canning	20.4
Coates	18.5	Steel	17.75
Jackson	21.8	Brown	11.0
Rogers	19.58	Turner	13.2
McMillan	9.25	Gardner	16.1
Marshall	18.6	Warren	21.1
Scott	16.45	Hobson	20.6
Wilkins	14.6	Sanderson	17.4
White	20.5	Jenkins	12.8
Rankin	9.5	Blake	19.5
Mitchell	8.55	Cowan	13.1
Spencer	15.0	Menzies	21.8

Average Network Densities

Middle Class - 15.87

Working Class - 17.66

Table 40 (cont)

Range of Density

Middle Class	-	8.55	-	21.8
Working Class	-	11.0	-	22.5
General	-	8.55	-	22.5

Standard Deviation

Middle Class	-	4.1941
Working Class	-	3.4899

To investigate the earlier suggestions about social class differences, the density of the two social groupings in this project can be compared. Density of the middle class couples varied from 8.55 - 21.8 and that of the working class couples from 11.0 - 22.5. The average density for the middle class was 13.2, while it was 17.62 for the working class. The standard deviation for the middle class group is 4.1941 and that for the working class group is 3.4899. Thus for both groups the deviation from the mean is quite large and since there is a difference of only 1.79 between the two averages, it seems that there is very little difference between the two distributions. In these cases the working class networks did tend to be slightly denser but the difference was not

big enough to suggest distinct class differences.

Despite the low density nature of the extended networks, some of the sectors were very highly connected. The table of density for the different sectors shows a much higher rate than the extended networks. In fact, if we take the average density for each sector, we find they were as high as 71.7 for the neighbourhood, 85.4 for the husband's work situation, 100 for the wife's work situation, 81.75 for the voluntary associations. It must be remembered that these sectors refer to all those who had a similar link with ego. Thus the density of the neighbourhood is the density of the network of all the neighbours whom ego knew, not the whole neighbourhood, the density of which would probably be less. The figures for sector density were high showing definite high density areas and they contrast strongly with those of the extended network.

The importance of the number of network members in calculating density must be mentioned again here. The number of network members in each sector is clearly smaller than the number in the extended network. Therefore one would expect the density of sectors to be higher than that of the extended network, on the basis of the different numbers involved. Nevertheless the difference between the densities of sectors and that of the extended network is larger than would be expected purely on the basis of the different numbers of network members. The low density of the sector of friends demonstrates that low densities in sectors can quite well occur. This is the only sector that has a low density,



The density for kinship is extremely high because with regard to density only families of orientation of husband and wife and their own families of procreation were considered. Those included in the sector were friends who were not recruited from any of the other sectors. Therefore despite allowing for the difficulties involved in density calculation the data do show that it is in the sectors that high density areas occur. difference (as mentioned in chapter 5) between contact with

primary kin and contact with secondary kin. With the former,

Table 41.

	<u>Average Sector Densities</u>		
	<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Working Class</u>	<u>General Average</u>
Kinship	100.0	98.3	99.15
Neighbourhood	76.6	66.8	71.7
Work (husband)	80.7	90.2	85.45
Work (wife)	100.0	100.0	100.0
Voluntary Associations	79.9	83.6	81.75
Friends	17.1	14.9	16.0

(Def. appendix 1).

There was however considerable variation between sectors of different couples and some had some sectors which were less dense.

The difference in density varied between couples and between sectors.

Having seen then a rather different picture of density from that painted by Port, we can again ask its value and relevance. We have now seen the answer to the where and why of the high density areas - they exist in certain sectors of

The density for kinship is extremely high because with regard to density only families of orientation of husband and wife and their own families of procreation were considered.

The reasons for this were that:-

1. Firstly the research project showed a very distinct difference (as mentioned in chapter 5) between contact with primary kin and contact with secondary kin. With the former, contact was frequent and regular, whilst among others, numerous kin contacts were far more sporadic.

2. The data on kinship included every living relative and would therefore have been unwieldy to deal with in addition to that on all the other members of the network.

Matrices demonstrate network density in a more visual form. If on a graph members of each sector are plotted alongside each other, high density areas will appear along the diagonal showing the presence of high density sectors.

If overlapping sectors are placed next to each other then the density resulting from these can clearly be seen.

(Ref. appendix I).

These data show that the research set in Oxington had extended networks of low density, while the networks of sectors were of a very much higher density.

Having seen then a rather different picture of density from that painted by Bott, we can again ask its value and relevance. We have now seen the answer to the where and why of the high density areas - they exist in certain sectors of

the network - principally those of kinship, neighbourhood, work situation (both husband's and wife's) and voluntary associations - because it is there that ego has similar links with the members of his network.

The interest in density lies in the fact that high density networks may provide norm enforcing groups. From these data then it would appear that it is one of these sectors which may be the basis of a norm enforcing group.

If sectors then are high density areas and may provide norm enforcing groups, the question is - which sectors are most likely to provide these norm enforcing groups? It is useful here to refer to the data on Oxington, which has been discussed in the previous chapters and a summary of this material will answer this question.

The research in Oxington was carried out in order to examine the dynamic aspects of social networks. An attempt was made to see how changes in the network took place. Two main variables were selected - stage in the developmental cycle of the domestic group and social class.

Matching pairs of couples, one middle class and one working class in each pair, were selected from different stages in the developmental cycle to form a research set. Thus, the research project investigated the social networks of thirty eight married couples. Unfortunately because of the small number of couples and because they did not form a random sample, I was unable to use significance tests and other statistical

proceedures. I did, however, in chapter two put forward an argument in favour of small depth studies for social network research. The conclusions discussed therefore cannot be statistically verified. But, I hope that the weight of the data, presented in different forms - frequency tables, diary material, descriptive accounts, comments of informants etc. - in the previous chapters will bear out the conclusions for the Oxington research set and therefore suggest possible trends for the population at large.

Three specific hypotheses were put forward and material collected to test these. The first hypothesis proposed that social class was not the main determinant of a social network and the second suggested that there was a relationship between the stage in the developmental cycle of the domestic group and the social network. These two hypotheses were borne out by the data in the following way. As was shown in chapter 3, the stage in the developmental cycle influenced the sectors from which network members were recruited and that it was in general the same for both the social class groups which were selected. Since the network characteristics and changes with the stages in the cycle noted in chapter 3 were the same for both the social class groups, and since from the data, stage in the cycle appeared to be the main factor influencing social networks, it was concluded that social class was not the main determinant of a social network. With reference to the second hypothesis, a relationship was found to exist between the stage in the developmental cycle and the social



network, through the concept of the network sector. Thus, the stage in the developmental cycle of the family influenced the sectors from which network members were recruited and in this way influenced the type of social network of the conjugal pair.

More specifically, the Oxington data showed that, irrespective of social class, married couples before the birth of children, that is in the first stage of the cycle, interacted mostly with old childhood friends. They often belonged to cliques and they and their friends often belonged to voluntary associations of various kinds.

In the second stage of the cycle, after the birth of children, the pattern of interaction changed, and this again seemed to be true of both social classes. The couple did not have the same opportunities for outings and the wife especially spent more of her time in the home. Neighbours became the most important form of social contact, especially for the wife. The neighbourhood was the nearest and easiest source of contacts. Such things as cooperation in babysitting and taking children to school also brought neighbours together. The husband still maintained contacts with members of associations but also tended to see more of neighbours than previously.

When the children were beginning to leave home in the third stage of the cycle, the parents had the time and opportunity to go out more and meet more people. This was the stage when various groups became an especially important source of social contacts. There was some difference here between middle and working class wives.

In the research set, middle class wives joined voluntary associations, while working class wives took up paid employment. In both cases, they were looking for the interest and companionship that their family once supplied, but no longer did; but there was a class distinction in whether they looked for this from voluntary associations or work. Husbands, especially middle class husbands, saw a good deal of work associates. By this stage they were reaching the peak of a career and it might be necessary to foster business contacts outside working hours. If they had been working in one job most of their lives they would, by this stage, have made social contacts through work.

In the final stage, most interaction was with kin. As the couple grew older, most interaction was concentrated on their own families and other kin. Neighbours too were an important source of companionship at this stage.

Not only did stage in the developmental cycle influence the type of network links, it also affected the joint/segregated nature of network interaction. In chapter 4, it was shown how in the first stage, interaction with network members was joint, that is husband and wife interacted together with members of their network. After the birth of the first child network interaction became segregated with husband and wife seeing friends separately more often than jointly. The network tended to remain segregated, though in the last stage husband and wife saw network members jointly more often than in stages 2 and 3, but not as much as in stage 1.

The relationship between stage in the developmental cycle and social networks therefore existed in two ways. Firstly stage in the cycle influenced the type of links in the social network and secondly it influenced the extent of joint interaction with network members.

The third hypothesis suggested that with the expansion of the domestic group the social network of the family expands and with the dispersion of the family, the network contracts. This was in fact not proved by the data. These as described in chapter 4, showed that the social network increased in size through the different stages until the final stage where it remained much the same as in the third stage. Although this social network did not decrease in the final stage, the amount of interaction with members of the network did decrease at this stage. The conjugal pair had built up a social network through a lifetime, but due to increasing old age they saw very much less of the members of this network, in the final stage.

Since the different sectors had been found to be the important link between stage in the developmental cycle and social networks, these sectors were analysed more deeply in the second half of the thesis, i.e. chapters 5 - 9. It was suggested in these chapters that although social class had not been the main determinant of the types of links in the network, it was the main factor affecting the way that social contacts were initiated and maintained. Thus, the first half of the thesis showed that

stage in the cycle influenced network characteristics, while the second half showed that social class was more important than family stage in influencing the manner in which recruitment to the network took place.

The sectors of the network were discussed in chapters 5 - 9, in terms of the way contacts were made within them; which factors affected the recruitment of network members, the content of these network links; and the factors affecting density in the sector.

The factors affecting the formation and maintenance of network links, the functions of these links and the extent of network density tended to vary between sectors. As a result it is difficult to generalise but these factors and functions may be summarised in tabular form as shown below.

With this table, we can compare the different aspects of these sectors and see which factors are common to different sectors.



Table 42.

Sector	Functions	Density	making contacts		Developmental cycle		Sex
			Primary	Social Class	Stage	Sex	
Kinship	Companion-ship, aid	High	Primary kin, Families of husband and wife	Slight working class preference for siblings	Stage 4	Women	
Neighbourhood	Companion-ship Instrumental	Stage 2 Phase in development of area. Social class		Middle Class - more institution-alized	Stage 2	Women non-working wives.	
Work (H)	Career advancement	1. Type of work group mobility high		Middle class - more formal	Stage 3		
Work (W)	Companion-ship Financial Interest	High	Informal	Mostly working class.	Stage 1 & 3		
Voluntary Association	Companion-ship. Interest		Through participation		Stage 3	Women belong to slightly more associations	
Friendship	Companion-ship. Help	Low	Youth, work & neighbours. Same sex. Personal	1. WC-frequency more important 2. MC-differentiate more. 3. MC-Share more close friends		1. Women have more close friends than men. 2. Men initiate joint friendship units.	
General	Companion-ship. Instrumental - aid		More Institutionalized among MC.	MC formalise initiation & maintenance of soc contacts WC - informal	According to sector.	Women	

If we look first at the functions column in table 42, page 314, we can see that these functions of contacts in different sectors can be summed up into two general categories - instrumental and companionship. Thus, under instrumental we have the function of kin in providing aid, and friends in providing support, neighbours in providing help etc. Companionship can be seen in the fellowship provided by kin, neighbours, work associates and friends.

At some stages in the developmental cycle, there was more interaction in certain sectors than in other stages. Thus the greatest interaction with kin was in the final stage, with neighbours in the second stage and with work associates and voluntary association contacts in the third stage. There was more joint interaction in sectors in the first stage than after the birth of children. Essentially the stage in the cycle was important in affecting interaction because it provided the basic framework for interaction. It set limitations and created opportunities and within this the individual could operate. His values were shaped mostly by class factors and thus within the framework of the developmental cycle he made choices according to his values but within the limitations set.

While the developmental cycle influenced patterns of interaction by limiting interaction in some sectors and encouraging it in others, social class affected values and attitudes and the way in which contacts were made. In one

or two sectors the middle class had formalised the process of making contacts far more than the working class. In the neighbourhood through coffee mornings, in associations and with colleagues, an obligation was felt to introduce new people to others and members embarked upon the formal procedure of making contacts. The middle class in Oxington felt a greater obligation to make contacts and have a formal procedure for easing this process which the working class there did not have.

When we look at the sex of the initiators and maintainers of these social relationships, we find women in the majority. More female than male kin were seen frequently. Again there was greater interaction with neighbours by women. A few more women than men joined voluntary associations and women had more close friends than men. Men did, however, initiate more of the joint close friendships and of course they were prominent in the work sector. Wives saw very little of work associates in leisure hours. In general, it was the wife who was most active in initiating and maintaining social relationships.

The network density of the sectors varied between sectors and between couples. It seemed that the characteristics of the sector were responsible for its network density. The density of the kinship sector was high, since most kin were likely to know each other. The density of the neighbourhood sector depended on the family stage of the occupants, their social class and the phase in development of the area. In the work situation,

density depended on the mobility involved in the job and the type of work group or work situation. The density of voluntary associations varied with the wide range of types of groups. The density of friends was very low because there was no obvious link binding them.

The point most relevant to all the sectors is the distinction between the two social class groups in the research set in the way they made contacts. Among the middle class the process of meeting people and developing social contacts was institutionalized to a greater extent than among the working class.

These are some generalisations then which can be made with reference to the factors under investigation and the different sectors.

This research project has shown that in Oxington, the social networks of married couples tended to be of low density with high density areas. These areas were mostly the sectors of kinship, neighbourhood, work situation and voluntary associations. It was found that it was the stage in the developmental cycle of the family which influenced which sector was important to ego and which influenced the type of network links. This was the same except for the few minor variations mentioned, for both social class groups. The main influence of social class was on the way social contacts were formed. The data, therefore, suggest that the type of social network of a married couple will depend on their stage in the developmental cycle. This will determine which sectors are important to them and these sectors are likely



to be the basis of high density norm enforcing groups.

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APPENDIX I

DIAGRAMS,

THE DIAGRAMS

Diagram 2 - 5 show the structure of some of the members of the  $S_n$  group and their relation to the  $S_{n-1}$  group. They show that the members of  $S_n$  are all  $n$ -cycles, but in all cases there is a tendency for high density areas to appear along the diagonal. The members of the  $S_{n-1}$  group are shown in some of the diagrams, thus the structure along the diagonal can be seen to represent their structure. Diagram 6 shows the overlapping of two sectors.

APPENDIX I

DIAGRAMMES.

THE DIAGRAMMES

Diagrammes 2 - 5 show the networks of some of the members of the research set and pilot study group. They demonstrate different levels of density, but in all there is a tendency for high density areas to appear along the diagonal. The members of the network are listed in terms of sectors, thus the clusterings along the diagonal can be seen to represent these sectors. Diagramme 5 shows the overlapping of two sectors.

DIAGRAMME 2 DEE

- 1 Mrs D's grandmother
- 2 Mrs D's parents
- 3 Mrs D's sister
- 4 Mr D's parents
- 5 Mr D's brother
- 6 Lee
- 7 Weir
- 8 Stirling
- 9 Grant
- 10 Jenkins
- 11 Bill
- 12 Andrew
- 13 Jamie
- 14 Jimmy
- 15 David
- 16 Margaret C.
- 17 Margaret Mitch.
- 18 Margaret McC.
- 19 Jim and Jan
- 20 John
- 21 Peter
- 22 Kenneth
- 23 Ian and Joyce
- 24 Eileen

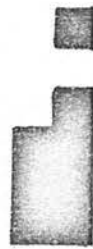
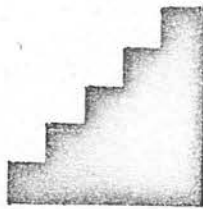
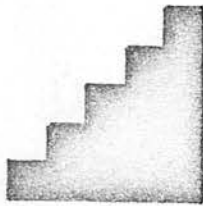
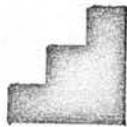
The highest-density network  
in the research set



DIAGRAMME 3 RANKIN

- 1 Mr R's sister
- 2 Marion
- 3 Robert
- 4 Peter
- 5 Edwards
- 6 Brechin
- 7 Harley
- 8 Gillespie
- 9 Docherty
- 10 Robertson
- 11 Accountant
- 12 Mr Hume (predecessor)
- 13 Old colleague
- 14 Wilson
- 15 Morrison
- 16 Murdoch
- 17 Traherne
- 18 Claud Maggs
- 19 Ted Wright
- 20 Betty and John
- 21 Beth Eaton
- 22 Eleanor M.
- 23 Jean Sim
- 24 McDowd
- 25 Hunt
- 26 Hall
- 27 Noble
- 28 Urqhart
- 29 Tindall
- 30 Buchanan
- 31 Johnson
- 32 Coleville

A low-density network  
with high-density  
sectors

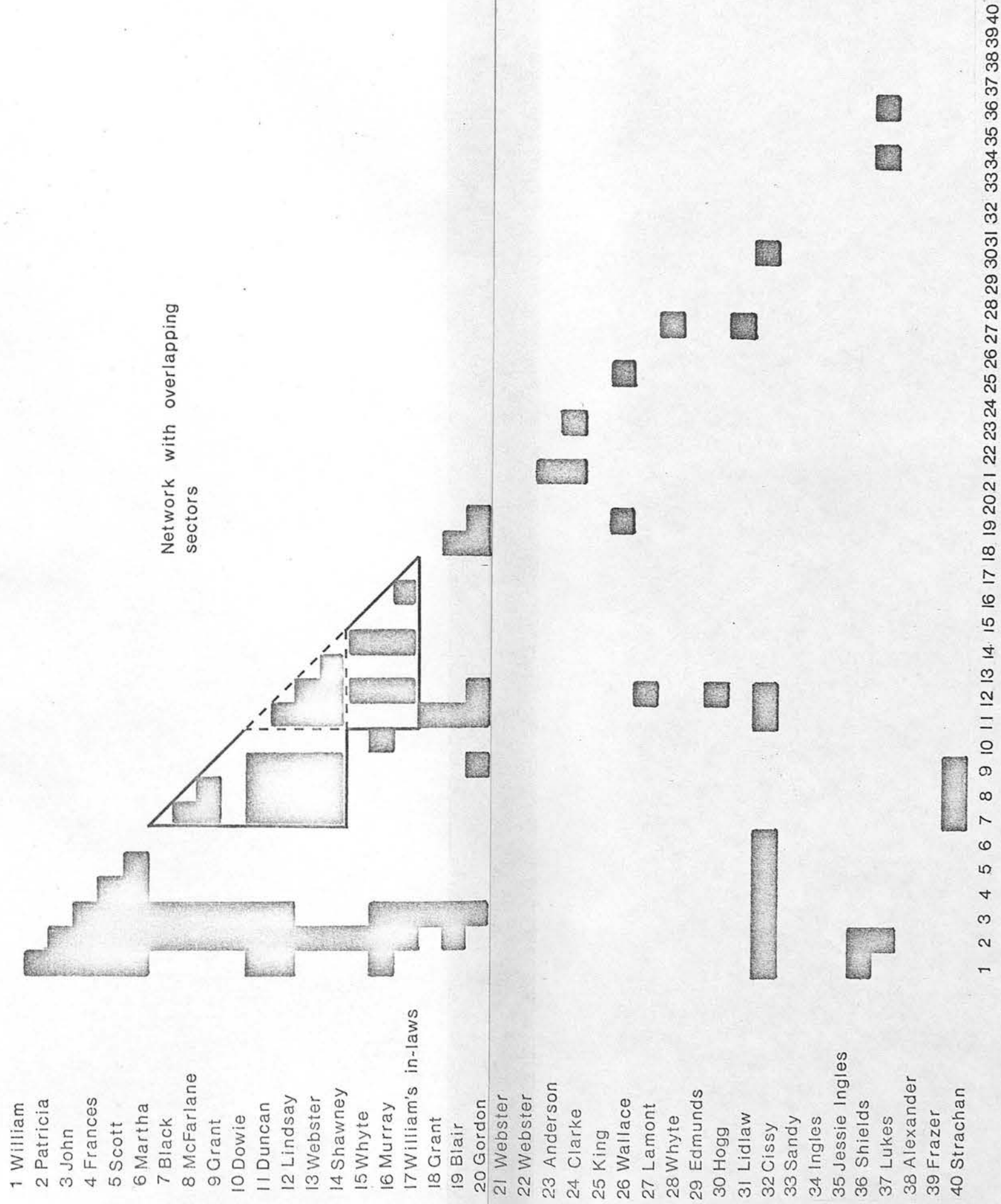


# DIAGRAMME 4 MITCHELL

- 1 Mrs M's sister
- 2 William
- 3 Neall
- 4 Ray
- 5 Duncan
- 6 Elizabeth
- 7 Kenneth
- 8 Alan
- 9 Colin
- 10 Barr
- 11 Dierden
- 12 Dobson
- 13 Robertson
- 14 McCullough
- 15 Buchanan
- 16 Hogarth
- 17 Gordon
- 18 Sutherland
- 19 Johnny
- 20 Dr Bolton
- 21 McClay
- 22 McClements
- 23 Curran
- 24 Polish doctor
- 25 Marshall
- 26 Professor Scott
- 27 Vetch
- 28 Vetch's sister
- 29 Church elder
- 30 Minister
- 31 Montgomery
- 32 Campbell
- 33 Dr Sila
- 34 Lindsay
- 35 Tindall
- 36 Clark
- 37 Tucker
- 38 Mrs Cooper
- 39 McWalter
- 40 Beatrice
- 41 Isobel
- 42 Liebenstehl
- 43 Lees
- 44 Biddy
- 45 Lynch
- 46 Jean
- 47 Meg
- 48 Milroy
- 49 Mona
- 50 Sims
- 51 Jamie Dykes

The lowest-density network  
in the research set

DIAGRAMME 5 JOHNSON



Name  
Address  
Age  
Husband's Occupation  
Wife's Occupation  
Paternal Father's Occupation  
Maternal Mother's Occupation  
No. of Children  
Name, Age and Sex of Children  
Occupations of Children  
Marital Status of Children  
Residence of Children  
If children have left home  
Religious Affiliation  
Home Town of Husband  
Home Town of Wife  
Length of Residence

APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW GUIDES AND  
SCHEDULES.



Interview Guide for First Interview.

Name

Address

Ages

Husband's Occupation

Wife's Occupation

Paternal Father's Occupation

Maternal Father's Occupation

No. Of Children

Name, Age and Sex of Children

Occupations of Children

Marital Status of Children

Residence of Children

If children have left home, when

Religious Affiliation

Home Town of Husband

Home Town of Wife

Length of Residence in present home

Neighbourhood

How wide an area would you call this neighbourhood?

How would you define a neighbour?

How many neighbours do you know?

Where do they live?

How often do you see these neighbours?

Do you meet them regularly?

Kinship

Draw a family tree.

Which relatives not living at home do you see?

Where do they live?

How often do you see them?

Are there regular meetings?

What sort of meeting is it?

Which members of the family take part in these meetings?

Do you write to any relatives? If so, which?

How often? Regularly?

Have you any relatives that you never see?

Do you know where they live, if they are married, or if they have children?

Do you ever telephone relatives?

Does your family ever gather together for special occasions?

If so, which members take part, and where do you meet?

What and when was the last family gathering? Which relatives were there?

Do any of your children visit relatives on their own?

Neighbourhood

How wide an area would you call this neighbourhood?

How would you define a neighbour?

How many neighbours do you know?

Where do they live?

How often do you see these neighbours?

Do you meet them regularly?

What type of meeting is it?

Do you meet any of your neighbours outside the neighbourhood?

Do you consider any of these neighbours friends?

Are any neighbours relatives?

### Work

How many others do you work with?

Does your work require you to travel at all?

Do you meet any of your work associates outside the work situation?

Do you meet them frequently? and regularly? What type of meeting is it?

Are any of these associates also relatives or neighbours?

Do you keep in touch with any old work associates? Who and How?

(same for wife if working)

### Voluntary Associations

Do you belong to any associations, clubs, societies or formal groups?

Does your family belong?

How often do you attend these associations?

Do you usually go to the association alone or with anyone else?

How many members do you know?

Do you meet any of these members outside the club?

If so, how often and where?

Do any relatives, neighbours or work associates attend this (these) club (s)?

Do you belong to - (a) a church

(b) a political party

(c) a trade union or

How many times (d) a business or professional organization

Do you go to a public house regularly? Is people you had not meet

Have you made any friends through public institutions or professional services e.g. doctors, welfare clinics?

How did you spend the evenings last week and the week-end?

### Cliques and Informal Groups

Is there any informal group whom you meet regularly?

Who are the members of the group?

How often do you meet?

Do you meet them for a specific purpose?

How did you meet them originally?

### Friends

Who would you say are your close friends?

Where did you first meet them?

How often do you see them?

Do you see them regularly?

Do you have any friends whom you have made through your children?

(for example, teachers, parents of children's friends)

How often do you see these friends and what sort of meeting is it?

Do you have any other friends who have not been mentioned so far?

How often do you see them? Do you see them regularly?

What type of meeting is it?

Do you keep in touch with any friends through letters?

Where did you first meet these friends?

### General

Who would you go to in an emergency?



How many Christmas cards did you receive?

Did you get any cards from or send any to people you had not sent them to or received them from?

How did you spend last Christmas and New Year?

How did you spend the evenings last week and the week-end?

Content of Network Links.

Do you have any godchildren?

Do your children have any godparents? If so, who?

Do you have any friends whom the children call Uncle and Aunt? Who?

To whom did you give Christmas and Birthday presents?

Do you help others, or they help you in the following ways

(If so, who)? -

(a) Domestic tasks

(b) Shopping

(c) Babysitting

(d) Taking children to school

(e) Minding the house while away

(f) Lending and borrowing things

(g) Use of the phone

(h) Odd jobs around the house,  
such as washing floors etc.

Did you go on holiday with any friends last year? Who?

Are you going with any this year? Who?

Have you met any new people since my last visit?

Interview Guide for Second Interview.

Follow up all those mentioned in the first interview to see how much contact there was with them in the previous month.

Content of Network Links.

Do you have any godchildren?

Do your children have any godparents? If so, who?

Do you have any friends whom the children call Uncle and Aunty? Who?

To whom did you give Christmas and birthday presents?

Do you help others, or they help you in the following ways

(if so, who)? -

(a) Domestic tasks

(b) Shopping

(c) Babysitting

(d) Taking children to school

(e) Minding the house while away

(f) Lending and borrowing things

(g) Use of the phone

(h) Odd jobs around the house,

such as mending fuses etc.

Did you go on holiday with any friends last year? Who?

Are you going with any this year? Who?

Have you met any new people since my last visit?

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10). In an average week how many evenings do you spend at home?

Interview Schedule for Third Interview

- 1). What sort of secondary education did you have? At what age did you leave school?
- 2). How many places have you lived in outside Edinburgh since you were married?
- 3). What were they and how long did you spend there?
- 4). How many places have you lived in in Edinburgh?
- 5). What were they and how long did you spend there?
- 6). What other jobs or posts have you had, and how long did you have them for?

QUESTIONS ON JOINT AND SEGREGATED NETWORK INTERACTION

- 1). Outside your immediate family, who are the five people you see most of in leisure hours?
- 2). Where and how did you originally meet them? What are their occupations?
- 3). Do you usually see these people in the company of your spouse?
- 4). In what context do you usually see them?
- 5). Do they visit you - if so, when you are on your own or when your spouse is here?
- 6). Does your spouse know these friends? How well? How much does he/she see of them?
- 7). Which friends do you meet as a couple? How often?
- 8). Do you see them at all individually? if so, which?
- 9). Do you consider all your spouse's friends to be your friends? If no, which not?
- 10). In an average week how many evenings do you spend at home?

- 11). In the evenings you are out, how do you usually spend the evening?
- 12). When was the last time you went out together without the children?
- 13). Have you any particular interests (hobbies, etc) which your spouse does not share? How much of your time do they take up?
- 14). How would you say you spent most of your leisure time? Does your spouse take part in this?
- 15). Do you ever have a babysitter? About how often? Who do you usually ask to do this?
- 16). Do you think the presence of the children influences the extent to which you and your spouse pursue activities outside the home?  
In what way, and to what extent?
- 17). Did you pursue activities outside the home more often before the children were born?
- 18). Did you pursue these together more often before they were born?
- 19). Do you think you saw more of friends together before they were born?
- 20). Did you share more friends before they were born?

For Stage 3 only

- 21). Now that the children have left home, do you go out more or less?
- 22). Do you see more or less of your friends? Do you visit them more or less with your spouse?



- 23). Do you go out more or less with your spouse (a) to see friends (b) to pursue interests.
- 24). Do you think you spend more or less time with your spouse than when the children were at home?
- 25). Is this in the home or outside?
- 26). How much do you think the presence of a family and then their leaving home has affected the extent to which you and your spouse spend your leisure time and see friends?
- 27). Do you think young couples today have different attitudes to the family and leisure activities?
- 28). Do you think they go out more than they used to?
- 29). Do you think they are more or less constrained by family ties than you were?

#### QUESTIONS ON HOW CONTACTS WERE MADE

##### NEIGHBOURHOOD

- 1). Who did you meet first in this neighbourhood and how?
- 2). Who was the first person to come into this house, why was that?
- 3). Whose house did you go into first and why?
- 4). How did you get to know the other neighbours?
- 5). Why do you think you know these neighbours better than the others not mentioned?
- 6). Were you formally invited to meet neighbours in any way?
- 7). Do you feel obliged to make contact with new neighbours?

##### WORK

- 1). What was your first contact with a work associate outside office hours?

- 2). Did any associates invite you formally to see them outside office hours - who and how?
- 3). Did you meet any work associates outside work through other colleagues?
- 4). Are any of these contacts with those of either senior or junior rank to yourself in the work situation?

#### ASSOCIATIONS

- 1). Why did you join this association?
- 2). Who first introduced you to it or how did you hear about it?
- 3). Did you make friends through this association?
- 4). Having once joined the association, how did you get to know the other members -
  - (a) Introduction
  - (b) Casual talking
  - (c) Carrying out projects together
  - (d) Shared interests
- 5). Of those you see outside the association, who first suggested a meeting outside and what sort of meeting was this?
- 6). Why do you think you have become friendlier with some than with others?

#### CHURCH

- 1). Who was the first person you met through the church and how?
- 2). Did you meet others through him/her?
- 3). How did you meet other people through the church?
- 4). Why do you think you have become friendlier with some than with others?

SOCIAL

PUB

- 1). Why do you go to this particular pub?
- 2). Did someone introduce you to it first - if so, who?
- 3). Did you meet other people at the pub and become friendly or did your friends go there?
- 4). How did you meet people at the pub?

SPECIFIC INTERESTS

- 1). Why did you go to this evening class, etc. your friends?
- 2). Did someone introduce you to it or how did you hear of it?
- 3). How did you meet other people there?

FRIENDS

- 1). How would you define a friend?
- 2). Would you discuss personal and family problems with any friends? Which?

DOMESTICITY OF THE WIFE

- (i) like v. much (ii) like (iii) don't mind (iv) dislike (v) hate
- 1). Do you -
    - (a) cooking
    - (b) sewing
    - (c) knitting
    - (d) decorating the house
    - (e) buying new things for the house
    - (f) rearranging furniture, house, etc.,
    - (g) ironing

- (h) washing
- (i) cleaning the house
- (j) arranging flowers
- (k) entertaining
- (l) shopping for food

- 2). Do you take any woman's magazines? Which?  
Do you collect recipes?
  - 3). Do you do any evening classes, courses, etc. in any form of house hold skills?
  - 4). Do you often discuss household matters with your friends?
  - 5). Do you feel you should be at home when
    - (a) Your husband comes back from work
    - (b) your children come home?
  - 6). Does your husband help in the home at all? In what way and to what extent?  
(washing up, cleaning, cooking, shopping, looking after the children, etc.,).
  - 7). Do you think the wife's first concern is her home and family?
  - 8). Do you think it is right for a mother with children to go out to work? If this depends on the age of the children, at what age should she go out to work?
  - 9). Would you like to have a job? Why? If you have one, are you glad or would you rather not? Why?
  - 10). Do you listen to or watch any women's programmes on the radio or T.V.?
-



Diary Form For One Day

Person(s) met

Place of Meeting

Purpose of Meeting

Approximate length  
of meeting

Morning

Lunch  
Time

Afternoon

Evening  
5-7 p.m.

Evening  
7-12.0

Diary Form For Letters and Telephone Calls in a Week

Persons from whom  
letters were  
received

Persons to whom  
letters were  
written

Persons from whom  
'phone calls were  
received

Persons to whom  
'phone calls were  
made

MONDAY				
TUESDAY				
WEDNESDAY				
THURSDAY				
FRIDAY				
SATURDAY				
SUNDAY				

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